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4° Utiliser seulement les abréviations autorisées ci-dessous.

ABRÉVIATIONS AUTORISÉES

AASS	*Acta Sanctorum*
AB	*Analecta Bollandiana*
ACO	E. SCHWARTZ, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*
AHR	*The American Historical Review*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
BHG	*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*
BF	*Byzantinische Forschungen*
BMGS	*Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
B-NJ	*Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*
Bsl	*Byzantinoslavica*

Byz.	*Byzantion*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CA	*Cahiers Archéologiques*
CFHB	*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CJ	*Codex Justinianus*
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*
CSHB	*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*
CTh	*Codex Theodosianus*
DACL	*Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*
DHGE	*Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
DOS	*Dumbarton Oaks Studies*
ΔΧΑΕ	*Δελτίον Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*
EEBS	*Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*
EO	*Echos d'Orient*
FHG	C. MULLER, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*
GOThR	*Greek Orthodox Theological Review*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
JG	I. et P. ZEPOS, *Jus Graecoromanum,* I-VIII, Athènes, 1931.
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JÖB	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
JÖs	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinistischen Gesellschaft*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
LChI	*Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*
Mansi	J. D. MANSI, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio.*
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
MM	F. MIKLOSICH et J. MULLER, *Acta et diplomata medii aevi,* Vindobonae, 1860-1890.
NE	*Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*
OCA	*Orientalia Christiana Analecta*
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
ODB	*The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium,* Oxford, 1991.
PG	*Patrologia Graeca*
PL	*Patrologia Latina*
PLRE	*The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire,* Cambridge, I-II, 1971-1980.
PO	*Patrologia Orientalis*
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
RBK	*Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst*

RE	*Real-Encyclopädie (Pauly-Wissowa)*
REB	*Revue des Études Byzantines*
REG	*Revue des Études Grecques*
RH	*Revue Historique*
RHE	*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*
ROC	*Revue d'Orient Chrétien*
RSBN	*Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*
SC	*Sources Chrétiennes*
ST	*Studi e Testi*
Syntagma	G. RALLIS et M. POTLIS, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, I-VI, Athènes, 1852-1859.
TIB	*Tabula Imperii Byzantini*
TM	*Travaux et Mémoires*
VV	*Vizantijskij Vremennik*
WS	*Wiener Studien*
Zbor.	*Zbornik Radova Vizantoloskog Instituta Srpska Akademija Narodna*

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THE MOSAIC OF THE TRANSFIGURATION IN ST. CATHERINE'S MONASTERY ON MOUNT SINAI : A DISCUSSION OF ITS ORIGINS

Introduction

The mosaic of the Transfiguration in the apse of the church of St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai (Fig. 1) is the earliest extant major depiction of the Transfiguration, and, in contrast to its approximately contemporary Transfiguration in the apse of St. Apollinaris in Classe (Fig. 4), the style of which was not imitated in any other known icon in the East or in the West, it signifies the appearance of an iconographic type that was followed throughout the Byzantine era. Very few icons have been as influential as this one, for so long. The typology of the icon of the Transfiguration, as it is known in the history of iconography, seems to have been based on the Sinai mosaic, or at least on the same premises, and although it evolved significantly in the subsequent centuries, this did not happen in a way that ever produced a radically different model. Moreover, despite some stylistic changes, the iconographic type underwent in the middle Byzantine era, the Sinai type returned in the eleventh century with very few differences. This brings us to the main focus of this paper : what are the origins of this seminal icon ? What is the iconographical and theological background that gave rise to this type, which remains essentially unchanged since the sixth century ? Several descriptions and analyses of this icon have been published, such as the studies of Kurt Weitzmann, Jaś Elsner, Jerzy Miziolek and William Loerke (1), not to mention several general works on iconography which

(1) Cfr K. Weitzmann, *Introduction to the Mosaics and Monumental Paintings*, in G. Forsyth and K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai : The Church and Fortress of Justinian*, Ann Arbor, 1965 ; K. Weitzmann, *The Mosaic in St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai* in *The Monastery of St Catherine at Mount Sinai : The Icons*, in *Proceedings of the*

examine it. Nevertheless, the conditions that made its emergence possible, which would tell us a lot about the origins of the Transfiguration typology in general, have not been studied adequately. This paper will attempt to identify the major themes of this composition and explore its possible iconographical antecedents in the light of the theological discourse of the sixth century.

Two inscriptions, one commemorating the death of Theodora, and the other referring to the living emperor and imploring his salvation, suggest that the church at Mount Sinai was built in the years between Theodora's death in 548 and Justinian's death in 565 (2). The monastery was founded when Justinian, after complaints of robber incursions from the hermit monks who had settled there, fortified the site where Moses was believed to have seen the burning bush, on the lower slopes of Mount Sinai. Procopius mentions the fortification of the monastery in *Buildings* V, viii, 4-5. Initially, as Procopius mentions, it was dedicated to the Virgin, but its dedication was changed to St. Catherine in the ninth century, after the dream of a monk led to the discovery of the body of St. Catherine, according to the tradition of the monastery.

Description

The Sinai apse was first studied properly relatively recently, after it was cleaned and restored by the Michigan-Princeton University expedition in 1958, led by George Forsyth and Kurt Weitzmann. The expedition discovered that the whole figure of Christ, which had miraculously survived for fourteen centuries, was detached from the wall and was in imminent danger of collapsing ; they of course, restored the entire mosaic. Most writers do not fail to notice the larger apse synthesis, which includes a triumphal arch bearing the images of a bearded man on the left and a woman on the right in roundels, two angels with peacock wings presenting the scepter and the orb to a representation of the Lamb on a Cross, and two panels above the triumphal arch, one with a depiction of

American Philosophical Society, 110 (1966), pp. 392-405 ; J. Elsner, *Art and the Roman Viewer*, Cambridge, 1995 ; J. Miziolek, *Transfiguratio Domini in the Apse at Mount Sinai and the Symbolism of Light*, in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 53 (1990) ; W. Loerke, *Observations on the Representation of Doxa in the Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome, and St. Catherine's, Sinai*, in *Gesta*, 20, 1, (1981).

(2) Forsyth and Weitzmann, p. 11.

Moses and the Burning Bush in the upper left corner, and another with a depiction of Moses receiving the Law on the summit of Sinai in the upper right corner (Fig. 2). A series of medallion busts above the Transfiguration represents the twelve apostles with Matthias (or Paul) ([3]) and the evangelists Luke and Mark replacing Peter, John and James who are represented in the main mosaic, and another series at the base of the apse-conch represents prophets from the Old Testament (Fig. 1).

A tradition among the Sinai monks holds that the roundel faces represent Justinian and Theodora (Fig. 2), the founders of the monastery ([4]), although Theodora cannot be considered a proper founder because she was dead at the time, but most scholars today ([5]) think that they most likely represent St. John the Baptist and the Virgin. This makes the composition of these two roundels and the roundel with the Lamb on the Cross a proto-deesis, an image of supplication. This is quite unusual, because the Deesis, as an established composition where St. John the Baptist and the Virgin intercede for our sake to Christ, or, alternatively, represent the convergence of the Old and the New Testament in the light of the New Creation brought about by Christ, does not appear until the eleventh century ([6]). As Weitzmann observed however, maybe the monks' assertion does contain a kernel of truth, and a depiction of Justinian can be found around the apse, although not where the monks think. The bearded man in the roundel certainly does not resemble any known images of Justinian such as his depictions in San Vitale and St. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna. There is another image however, which not only bears a significant resemblance to the Ravenna mosaics, but it seems that the artist went out of his way, or rather out of the way of tradition, to achieve this resemblance. When David is portrayed as a king, he is usually portrayed with

(3) Matthias is usually not included in icons of the twelve apostles, such as the icon of the Pentecost, although he was present at the event. His place is taken by Paul who, although was not present at Pentecost, he played a major role in the foundation of the Church (whose birth is celebrated at Pentecost) and is thus counted among the twelve. The Sinai medallions include both Paul and Matthias but since Peter, John and James are not among the twelve disciples, whereas Paul, Matthias, Luke and Mark are represented, the number of the medallions is maintained at twelve.

(4) K. WEITZMANN, *Studies in the Arts at Sinai*, Princeton, 1982, p. 7.

(5) Cfr WEITZMANN, *Studies*, p. 15, FORSYTH and WEITZMANN, p. 13.

(6) WEITZMANN, *Studies*, p. 15.

a beard (7), something that distinguishes him from king Solomon who is usually portrayed beardless, but in the medallion bust below Christ, we can see an unusual depiction of David dressed in the purple chlamys and the crown of a Byzantine emperor but without a beard, which bears a significant resemblance to the Ravenna mosaics (Fig. 3). The identification of David with Justinian here demonstrates that the emperor is the human representative of Christ on earth. This bust, connected to the image of Christ and the angels who present imperial symbols of power to the Lamb in the triumphal arch, constitutes, according to Weitzmann, the imperial layer of meaning of the artistic program (8). The vertical axis, which seems to be dedicated to various levels of authority, also includes Peter, the Chief of the disciples, directly below the feet of Christ. This is quite rare, as in Transfiguration icons, Peter is usually on the left, under Elijah. Sometimes he is depicted on the right, but there is no other Transfiguration with him in the middle. Peter's position, furthermore, echoes his confession of faith in Matthew 16:16, and the subsequent comment in Matthew 16:17, where Christ plays with the nickname (Peter) he had given Kephas, and identifies him with the Rock upon which the Church will be built.

Furthermore, we can observe a series of oppositions in the expression of the prophets and the disciples, ranging from apathy and tranquility to agony and passion. This opposition can be observed between the distorted face of John the Baptist and the serene face of the Virgin in the roundels of the triumphal arch, between the passionate face of Elijah and the calm face of Moses, and between the agonizing face of James and the peaceful face of John. As Weitzmann observed, the faces of passion and the faces of calmness are placed in a chiastic manner, so as to achieve a balance of emotional expressions (9). Moreover, in contrast to most subsequent Transfiguration icons, the disciples are positioned in a precisely symmetrical manner. Millet observed that John and James lift their hands as in prayer, whereas Peter forms a little tent with his arms (10), echoing his question to Christ about the three tabernacles. The disciples are

(7) When David is represented as a young man however, he is beardless.

(8) FORSYTH and WEITZMANN, p. 15.

(9) FORSYTH and WEITZMANN, p. 13.

(10) G. MILLET, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile aux XIV^e^, XV^e^ et XVI^e^ siècles d'après les monuments de Mistra, de la Macédoine et du Mont Athos*, Paris, 1968, p. 220.

represented in a three-dimensional way, with bodies contorted, faces turned, and legs extended. According to the hierarchy of icons, the prophets are depicted in a bolder way than the disciples, yet they are more reserved in their movement, less material. In addition, the body of Christ is almost two-dimensional, more withdrawn from the material world than any other figure, hovering, as it were, between the physical and the spiritual world. The symmetry of the mosaic focuses on the figure of Christ, to which all faces are turned, and the hierarchy of forms points to his figure as the culmination of physical abstraction and, at the same time, the focus of the balance on the vertical and the horizontal level.

The Moses panels above the Transfiguration are an integral part of the overall composition, because they depict scenes that can be connected to the Transfiguration scene in a historical sense (through Moses) as well as in a way that shows their mystical connection. Jaś Elsner published a detailed interpretive analysis of the overall composition, connecting the Moses panels to the Transfiguration mosaic, according to which the eye combines the three images starting from the image of Moses and the Burning Bush, then moving to the image of Moses receiving the Law, and ending with the Transfiguration. Elsner places the three images in a hierarchy of theophanies : the burning bush represents the call to prophetic ascent, the receiving of the Law represents the ultimate summit of mystic vision, and the Transfiguration represents the new ultimate that took place in the Incarnation, seeing God as Christ face to face ([11]). One could see a slightly different meaning in this hierarchy, probably more consistent with monastic tradition and practice, and more sensible from a perspective of spiritual semiotics. The three scenes can be connected in two ways : through the figure of the historical Moses, but also as consecutive stages of a spiritual ascent that, although based on Moses — a model of spiritual ascent in both Jewish and Christian mysticism — may be applied to all monks. Moses was a favorite patristic model of spiritual ascent, and the artistic program of the Sinai apse seems to acknowledge and build on this premise, presenting the Transfiguration as the ultimate historical theophany. In this hierarchy, the ascent starts with the contemplation of a symbol of divinity (the burning bush), it then proceeds to the ascent of the ascetic mountain, the withdrawal of the symbol and the partial theophany which is limited by the human nature (the encounter at the summit of Sinai, where Moses was only able to see the back parts of God from the

(11) ELSNER, p. 111.

rock cleft that is emphasized in the mosaic and is usually associated with the human nature), and culminates in the Transfiguration as the fulfilled theophany, where Moses, transfigured himself according to some patristic writings ([12]), was finally able to look at the face of God in his glory.

Weitzmann, who published the first extensive discussion of the mosaic, noticed that "the artist's great sensitivity" points to the "highest artistic skill by the leading artist of an eminent atelier". "Only Constantinople could have supplied such highly trained craftsmen in the time of Justinian". Moreover, "a learned cleric advised the artist on the accuracy of the iconography and supplied him with the basic and, in this case, manifold ideas" ([13]). Considering the complexity of the work, its precision and its artistic value, Weitzmann suggests that Justinian himself or someone in his immediate environment chose the artist or rather the group of artists who made the mosaic, as well as the spiritual guide who oversaw it ([14]). This is an important piece of information in our quest for the origins of the mosaic, because it suggests that the artist and the theologian responsible for its conception and creation may have been exposed to the artistic and theological discourse of the time. This work cannot be treated as a marginal icon that may not be informed by the leading theological and artistic views, but as a mosaic that could very well resemble a similar work in St. Sophia in Constantinople. Nevertheless, the lack of archeological evidence does not allow us to speculate whether this mosaic was a copy of a more famous work of the time, and for all intents and purposes we have to treat it as an original.

Symbolism of the two natures of Christ

One of the first questions we may ask, would be why was the Transfiguration considered important enough to be featured in the main

(12) Cfr Origen, *Comm. In Matthaeum*, 12, 38, *PG*, 13, col. 1072, and Anastasius the Sinaite, *Homily 7, De Transfiguratione*, 5, *PG*, 89, col. 1369.

(13) The role of the priest Theodoros, second in command after the abbot, named in the inscription under the mosaic (ΣΠΟΥΔΗ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑΡΙΟΥ), is interesting. The inscription refers to him as the overseer of the mosaic, but his role has never been explored. If we take the inscription literally we have to recognize him as the supervisor. It is possible however, that he is named there as the high-ranking local monk who assisted the clerics and artists sent by Justinian.

(14) Forsyth and Weitzmann, p. 16.

apse of a church that was not dedicated to the Transfiguration but, as Procopius writes, to the Mother of God ? ([15]). Why was the Transfiguration such an important theme in the sixth century ? The choice of the Transfiguration as an apse theme was unusual, although it was used in St. Apollinaris in Classe and possibly in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, which will be discussed further on, interestingly enough, around the same time. The main themes of the Transfiguration exegesis before the sixth century, which can be found in most Fathers in the East and the West, broadly speaking, focus on the Transfiguration as a theophany and a revelation of the inner life of God, the Transfiguration as an event akin to the Resurrection, the Transfiguration as a prefiguring of the Second Coming, and the Transfiguration as a guarantee for the unity and continuity of the two Testaments ([16]).

Within the theological milieu of the sixth century, and as suggested by the aforementioned connection of the Transfiguration mosaic to the Moses panels, and by the lack of eschatological symbols such as the sheep and trees, images of Paradise that can be found in the St. Apollinaris Transfiguration, for instance (Fig. 4), it seems likely that on a first level the Sinai mosaic was based on the understanding of the Transfiguration as a theophany, a revelation of Christ in his divine glory during his life on earth, something that must have been particularly interesting in the midst of the monophysite controversy. As a visual manifestation of the two natures of Christ, it was quite appropriate for an iconographic rendition, especially at a time when the Christology of the two natures was important.

The Christological significance of the Transfiguration was not unknown to the early Fathers. The relationship between the human body and the divine nature of Christ is a recurring theme in Transfiguration commentaries by Greek and Latin Fathers such as Clement of Alexandria ([17]), Methodius of Olympus ([18]), Cyril of Alexandria ([19]),

(15) Procopius, *Buildings* V, viii, 5.

(16) Cfr *The Patristic Interpretation of the Transfiguration* in J. McGuckin, *The Transfiguration of Christ in Scripture and Tradition*, Lewinston, 1986, pp. 99-128.

(17) Clement of Alexandria, *Excerpts from Theodotus*, 5, *PG*, 9, col. 656.

(18) Methodius of Olympus, *De Resurrectione*, in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Cod. 234, 3, 2.

(19) Cyril of Alexandria, *Hom. Diversae 9*, *PG*, 77, col. 1013, *Comm. In Lucam* 9, col. 653D, alternative fragment cited in McGuckin, p. 181.

Jerome ([20]), Leo I ([21]), just to mention a few writers before the sixth century. The usual patristic line is that the body of Christ was glorified by the Glory of his divinity, "not by a laying aside of the human form of the body" ([22]) as Cyril of Alexandria wrote. The transfiguration of the body of Christ prefigures, according to most Fathers, the transfiguration of our body in its eschatological glory. The body of Christ therefore, was not different from ours (although the writings of Origen constitute an exception). Moreover, Tertullian ([23]) saw the Transfiguration as a refutation against the heresy that taught that the man Jesus and Christ were two different beings, a doctrine usually associated with Cerinthus in the first century, but very similar to the later Nestorian theory of the "two sons". Leo I, in the fifth century, saw the Transfiguration as a demonstration of the human and the divine nature of Christ ([24]), which proved that he was equally the Son of Man as he was the Son of God. Of course, it is mainly after the monophysite crisis that Christology drew from the theology of the Transfiguration, which is why the views of seventh and eighth century Fathers are much more helpful in making the connection between the two.

Maximus the Confessor lived a century after the Sinai mosaic was created, but his theology and his life were closely entangled with the monothelete chapter of the monophysite crisis. Maximus wrote in his comment on the Transfiguration in Question 191 from *Questiones et Dubia* that "the πρόσωπον (a word that might be translated as face or as person) of the Word, that shone like the sun, is the characteristic hiddenness of his being", echoing the Christological language of the fourth and fifth Ecumenical Councils on the one hand, while, as Andrew Louth observed ([25]), giving a Christological "turn" to apophatic theology, by combining the "hiddenness" of Christ, something that immediately refers to apophatic theology, with the πρόσωπον of Christ, the word that according to the fourth Ecumenical Council united the two natures of Christ, which, as the fifth Ecumenical Council clarified, was "one of the Trinity".

(20) JEROME, *Comm. In Ep. 2 Ad Cor.*, c3, *PL*, 30, col. 780.
(21) LEO I, *Hom. 51*, 3, *PL*, 54, col. 310-313.
(22) CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, *Comm. In Lucam* 9, *op. cit.*
(23) TERTULLIAN, *De Carne Christi*, 24, 3, *PL*, 2, col. 836.
(24) LEO I, *Hom. 51*, 1, *PL*, 54, col. 308.
(25) A. LOUTH, *Evagrios of Pontos and Maximos the Confessor*, Columbia, Missouri, 1998, pp. 23-24.

John of Damascus, the great systematizer of the Christian faith, included a commentary on the two natures of Christ in his sermon on the Transfiguration a century later, regarding it an appropriate occasion to discuss the patristic theme of distinction and union in Christ. During the Transfiguration, he writes,

> The Word is made flesh and flesh is made Word, though neither departs from its wonderful nature. [...] Glory did not come to this body from without but from within, by the Word of God uniting it hypostatically to his own supreme deity in a manner past all telling. How are these things joined that cannot be joined, yet abide without confusion ? [...] This act of union happens hypostatically so that the things that are united are one, and form but one hypostasis in a distinction without division, and with the unconfused union of the conjunction of hypostases safeguarded, and the duality of natures preserved through the immutable incarnation of the Word ([26]).

The Christological interpretation of the Transfiguration continued for centuries, and in the eleventh century Christopher of Mytilene ([27]), like Gregory of Sinai in the thirteenth century ([28]), wrote that Moses and Elijah symbolize the two natures of Christ, while the three disciples symbolize the three hypostases of God, a view that seems inspired by the Transfiguration iconography.

The theme of the two natures can be seen in an additional way in the Sinai composition, as Weitzmann observed ([29]). The two medallions directly above the figure of Christ, bearing an image of the cross and an image of the Lamb, contrast with the image of David directly below him, signifying the divine nature and the human lineage of Christ, respectively.

The icon of the Transfiguration probably was, when the Sinai Transfiguration was made, the best possible iconographic portrayal of the two natures of Christ and of the unity of the spiritual and the material world, if not the only one. Icons of the Resurrection do not appear until

(26) JOHN OF DAMASCUS, *Sermon on the Transfiguration*, *PG*, 96, col. 545-576.

(27) CHRISTOPHOROS OF MYTILENE, Εἰς τὴν Μεταμόρφωσιν, in *Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios*, edited by E. KURTZ, Leipzig, 1903, p. 141.

(28) GREGORY THE SINAITE, *Discourse on the Transfiguration*, edited by D. BALFOUR, in *Theologia*, 52/4 (1981), pp. 652-654.

(29) FORSYTH and WEITZMANN, pp. 14-15.

the eighth century ([30]), and, given the relationship between the Transfiguration and the Resurrection that is recurrent in Patristic writing, as well as iconographic similarities between the two themes such as the presence of the mandorla, the white garments of Christ, and the position of the figures around and below Christ, it is possible that the iconography of the Transfiguration provided a model for depictions of the Resurrection, as the pre-eminent scholar on the iconography of the Resurrection has observed ([31]). The Transfiguration was, in the sixth century, the best possible way to express the major Christological issues of the time in a visual form.

It might be argued however, that the Sinai mosaic offers an alternative reading regarding the two natures of Christ. As noted earlier, the degree of abstraction and immateriality increases as we move from the disciples, to the prophets, to Christ. Bearing probably the same symbolism, the garments of all the figures are very light in color, the prophets' lighter than the disciples' and Christ's, following the biblical narrative, mostly white. This ascent towards abstraction and pure light could be seen, from a monophysite or even Gnostic perspective, as an escape from the bonds of the flesh. Of course, this by no means proves the existence of a monophysitic level of meaning. The abstraction of the bodies of high-ranking figures, such as Christ or the disciples compared to the bodies of less well-known saints, military saints or plain people, is a regular convention of Byzantine iconography, which uses it to denote spiritual perfection. At the same time, the Eastern view on the bonds of flesh, as it can be seen among others in the writings of Gregory of Nyssa ([32]), holds that the body, which was created by the hands of God, is not an enemy, but the carnal desires are, the desires of the fallen body that correspond to the skin garments Adam and Eve wore after their expulsion from Paradise ([33]). Such a view would be perfectly consistent with the doctrine of the two natures of Christ and with the depiction of the perfect body of Christ and the bodies of the spiritually perfected prophets in a quasi-immaterial manner.

(30) A. KARTSONIS, *Anastasis : the Making of an Image*, Princeton, 1986, pp. 69-70.

(31) *Ibid.*, pp. 152-153.

(32) Cfr GREGORY OF NYSSA, *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, Sermon 11, *PG*, 44, col. 1004C-1005C, and *On Virginity*, *PG*, 46, col. 369B-376B.

(33) According to *Genesis* 3 : 21.

ICONOGRAPHICAL QUESTIONS

There are several characteristics in the Sinai mosaic which are not usually found in Transfiguration icons that were made around that time, such as the St. Apollinaris mosaic or the Rabbula Gospels illumination, or even in Transfiguration icons from much later, such as the Paris Gregory illumination. The Sinai synthesis may not seem particularly unusual within the spectrum of Transfiguration icons from the sixth century to date, where various stylistic features were adopted at different times, but it seems quite unusual compared to its near contemporary icons. It is these differences that might allow us to discern a particular theological meaning or message that may be associated with this icon. To put it simply, it is easier to read the theological message of this (or any) icon after we have an understanding of the iconographic language that expressed the theology of the Transfiguration.

a. *The mandorla*

One such anomaly is the elliptical shape of the mandorla, and the fact that Moses and Elijah are not included in it. Although this is the first known depiction of the Transfiguration with a mandorla, the almost exclusive shape of the Transfiguration mandorla until the eleventh century, with very few exceptions ([34]) is circular, and it includes Moses and Elijah, in line with the gospels of Matthew and Luke. Moreover, most Fathers describe the luminous cloud as a heavenly tent that enveloped Moses and Elijah, some (Origen ([35]) and Anastasius the Sinaite ([36])) write that Moses and Elijah were also transfigured, which suggests they were also "in glory". Furthermore, Basil the Great ([37]) and John of Damascus ([38]) wrote that the luminous cloud enveloped not only the prophets but the disciples as well, something that could justify the inclusion of the disciples in the circular mandorla, if we concede that it represents the cloud. It is obvious, from all this however, that there is no

(34) Exceptions to this rule constitute the Transfigurations in Tokali, Cappadocia, in Tsaouch In and in Shemokmedi, all after the Sinai Transfiguration. Cited in MILLET, p. 230.

(35) ORIGEN, *Commentary on Matthew*, xii, 38, *PG*, 13, col. 1072.

(36) ANASTASIUS OF ANTIOCH, *Hom. De Transfiguratione*, 5, *PG*, 89, col. 1369.

(37) BASIL OF CAESAREA, *Comm. In Isaiam*, *PG*, 30, col. 341-344.

(38) *PG*, 58, col. 533.

representation of the cloud whatsoever in the Sinai mosaic, and the mandorla simply represents the Glory and the Light of Christ. This constitutes a diversion from the biblical and patristic stress on the luminous cloud and, as we will see, it is not the only such diversion.

One possible way to interpret the elliptical shape of the Sinai mandorla has been suggested by Michael Gough, who argued that it resembles intentionally the Eternal Eye of the Jewish synagogue ([39]). This may be far-fetched, as we do not have any direct evidence to suggest an intentional use of the Jewish symbol, but the parallelism does not sound impossible, in the light of the Old Testament symbolism. Furthermore, the depiction of the Eternal Eye passed to Christian art as the All-Seeing Eye of God, above the east apse. Nevertheless, Gough's conjecture reminds us that the Transfiguration as an event, and the icon of the Transfiguration even more so, deal with the question of vision on at least six levels, which we should mention briefly here.

1. Moses and Elijah were the prophets to whom vision of God was denied in the Old Testament, and they were granted this vision in the New Testament, at the Transfiguration of Christ. Many Fathers, since Irenaeus of Lyons ([40]), comment on the Transfiguration as a fulfillment of the partial theophany of the Old Testament that the prophets deserve, something that can also be seen in the connection of the mosaic with the Moses panels.
2. The Transfiguration as a theophany is very often associated with the issue of spiritual senses, in this case spiritual vision, starting with Clement of Alexandria in the 2nd century, all the way to Gregory Palamas in the 14th. What enabled the disciples to see the divine glory was not their physical vision, but their "passage from the flesh to the spirit, and their subsequent purification of both soul and body" ([41]), as put by Maximus the Confessor in the 7th century. The spiritual senses are a recurring theme in Patristic theology, usually associated with Fathers who wrote commentaries on the Song of Songs, such as Origen and Gregory of Nyssa. They are awakened by grace and practice, and they can be thought of, as Karl Rahner put it, as "the psychology of the

(39) M. GOUGH, *The Origins of Christian Art*, London, 1973, pp. 157-159.
(40) IRENAEUS OF LYONS, *Adversus Haereses* 4, 20, 8, *PG*, 7, col. 1037-1038.
(41) MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR, *Ambiguorum Liber*, cited in MCGUCKIN, p. 105.

doctrine of theologia conceived as the highest degree of the spiritual life" ([42]).

3. The Transfiguration, as the revelation of God in his Glory, is related to the vision of God as light, an issue that takes different forms from St. John the Theologian and Gregory of Nazianzus, to the dark theology of Gregory of Nyssa and pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, and the contemplative visions of Symeon the New Theologian and Gregory Palamas. Vision of the divine light was the most immediate way to experience God in Patristic tradition.
4. According to Ephraim the Syrian ([43]), during the Transfiguration the disciples saw the Old Testament prophets and the prophets saw the disciples. This mutual recognition of the "old and the new leaders" stressed the harmonization of the two Covenants and the unity of the Church.
5. The Transfiguration as the visual manifestation of both natures of Christ is related to the problem of the representation, or "circumscription" of Christ, posed during the iconoclastic period. It is surprising that it was not explored by the iconodules or the iconoclasts, as some of the issues during that time were relevant to the demonstration of the Glory of Christ in Thabor. One of the main iconoclastic arguments addressed by Theodore the Studite in his *Refutations of the Iconoclasts* ([44]), although he did not mention the Transfiguration, was that the divine nature of Christ could not be represented because it could not be seen, but its manifestation during the Transfiguration, even if partial, was sufficient to show to the disciples the indwelling deity, as John Chrysostom wrote ([45]), thus providing an example if not of the divine nature at least of the divine glory becoming visible, and therefore possible to be depicted. Admittedly, the iconoclastic side could respond that the full extent of his divinity and his Glory could not be seen and experienced by the disciples whose eyes "were darkened by

(42) A. LOUTH, *The Origins of the Mystical Christian Tradition*, Oxford, 1981, pp. 68-69.

(43) EPHRAEM SYRUS, *Sermon on the Transfiguation*, *Omnia Opera*, ed. G. S. ASSEMANI, vol. 2, 1743, p. 425.

(44) THEODORE THE STUDITE, *On the Holy Icons*, translated by C. ROTH, Crestwood, New York, 1981, pp. 21-23, 69-73.

(45) JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *Homily 21*, *PG*, 63, col. 700.

excessive radiance" ([46]). The Transfiguration could thus provide arguments for both sides.

6. Inverted perspective, a fundamental technical premise in iconography, implies a gaze coming from the other side of the icon, the "eye of God" ([47]). This is demonstrated by the custom of Byzantine and Russian painters, who as late as the nineteenth century used to paint the so-called "Great Eye" on the canvas and write the word "God" underneath, before they started painting the icon ([48]). In the case of the icon of the Transfiguration, the Great Eye would be located approximately behind the mandorla, the symbol of the revelation and glory of God.

In addition to Gough's view of the mandorla as eye, one may observe that the Sinai mandorla is not exactly symmetrical but it rather resembles an egg with Christ, as the new Adam, coming out of it. The blue color of the mandorla, as the color of the sky and the Universe, is consistent with the view of the mandorla as a cosmic egg. This resonates with the cosmological dimensions of the Transfiguration as they can be found in the writings of Maximus the Confessor. In his works *Questiones et Dubia* ([49]) and *Ambigua* ([50]), Maximus discusses the Transfiguration and interprets the white garments of Christ in two ways : they refer to the words of Scripture and to the Cosmos. This juxtaposition seems too bold on a first level, but the Scripture and the Creation share something in common, in the theology of Maximus : they both consist of *logoi*, a word which is difficult to translate in its fullness, but whose simplest meaning is "words", referring to Scripture, and whose more complex meaning denotes the meaning of the created order. The *logoi* are fundamental in the cosmic theology of Maximus, and he discusses them in many of his works. In the case of his commentaries on the Transfiguration however, we see that the splendor of the garments of Christ shows how the words of the Gospel

(46) JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *Homily 56*, 3, *PG*, 58, col. 550.

(47) A detailed semiotic analysis of the inverted perspective can be found in B. USPENSKY, *The Semiotics of the Ancient Icon*, Lisse, 1976. Also cf. S. SKLIRIS, *En Esoptro*, Athens, 1992.

(48) USPENSKY, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

(49) MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR, *Questiones at Dubia*, 191, in J. H. DECKLERCK (ed.), *Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca*, 10 (1982), pp. 132-134.

(50) MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR, *Ambigua* 10, 17, *PG*, 91, col. 1125D-1128D.

and the *logoi* of the Universe became clear to the disciples ([51]). The Sinai mosaic predates Maximus and his cosmic theology by a century, but it is tempting to interpret the unusual egg-shaped blue mandorla as a cosmological symbol.

Considering how important the question of vision is here, it would be tempting to accept Gough's speculation of the intentional shape of the Sinai mandorla as an eye, even as an unconscious underlying theme, and to speculate whether the resemblance of the mandorla to an egg can be explained as an expression of the cosmological dimensions of the Transfiguration. Nevertheless, the bulk of scholarship on the origins of the mandorla has concentrated on the need to express visually the Jewish concept of *kabod*, inherited by Christian art, with means borrowed from Roman art. Writers who have researched the origins of the mandorla, such as G. W. Elderkin, Otto Brendel and André Grabar, generally agree that the mandorla descends from the *imago clipeata*, a Roman tradition of depicting persons of honor, the Emperor especially, in a circular or oval wreath. Jerzy Miziolek, in addition, following André Grabar, who argued that the mandorla and the nimbus are Christian adaptations of the pagan representations of the sun ([52]), has suggested that the Sinai mandorla descends from representations of the *Sol Dominus Imperii Romani* ([53]), a clipeus with eight rays, an idea that is supported by the fact that this is "the earliest known example of a Transfiguration with rays" ([54]). The symbolism of the sun and the theological ideas that may be associated with it will be examined further on. It is important to note, however, that the significance of the clipeus is not the same as the significance of the mandorla. The former is a sign of honor, not only due to the deified Emperor, but also to any honorable dead, as Roman funeral art demonstrates ([55]). The Christian mandorla signifies the kind of divine glory or light that is proper only to Christ, and only in extraordinary metaphysical events, such as the Transfiguration, the Ascension, the Resurrection, the Second Coming and the Dormition of the Virgin. Rarely, the Virgin Orans or Platytera is also depicted in a mandorla, in

(51) MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR, *Ambigua* 10, 31, *PG*, 91, col. 1160B-1169B.

(52) A. GRABAR, *Christian Iconography : A Study of its Origins*, Princeton, 1968, pp. 117-118.

(53) MIZIOLEK, p. 47.

(54) *Ibid.*, p. 44.

(55) S. MAKSELIENE, *The Glory of God and its Byzantine Iconography*, M.A. thesis, Central European University, Budapest, 1998, pp. 9-10.

analogy with Christ Pantokrator. Most scholars agree that the mandorla provided a solution to the problem of the representation of the Jewish concept of kabod, a word that expresses the Glory (which is what the Greeks call the mandorla) and Tabernacle of God, by representing the metaphysical space, the portal to the divine dimension, that was appropriate to Christian theophany, and differs metaphysically from the apparition of a deity in a cloud, an ancient Greek motif. The mandorla was certainly an effective device to represent the divine light in general as well, an extremely important concept throughout Byzantine theology. Moreover, the eight rays of light emanating from the body of Christ have been interpreted by Jerzy Miziolek as evidence towards the theme of Christ as the Sun of Justice, since it was commonplace in Hellenistic art to portray the sun with eight rays. Three of the rays in the Sinai Transfiguration, as in most Transfiguration depictions with rays, reach the disciples and two more reach the prophets. This may refer to the pseudo-Dionysian concept of illumination, which will be discussed below. The number eight however, is closely related to the Transfiguration narrative, as the number of days, according to Luke, that passed between the time Christ announced that some of the disciples would see the Kingdom of God before they died, and the Transfiguration. Matthew and Mark number the days as six, counting only the days between the day of the announcement and the day of the Transfiguration, whereas Luke included the other two days, according to the Greek way. Many Fathers, such as Origen ([56]), Anastasius the Sinaite ([57]), Maximus the Confessor ([58]) and John of Damascus ([59]), write that the numbers six or eight symbolize the created nature, which has to be transcended in an ascetical ascent. The eighth day, the *Ogdoad*, has an eschatological character and symbolizes the perfection of the world in the New Age, after the Second Coming.

There is substantial textual and artistic evidence to support the idea that the clipeus, in particular the clipeus of the *Sol Dominus Imperii Romani*, was adopted for the Sinai mandorla because it expressed the idea of Christ as the Sun of Justice, the Transfiguration being a suitable venue

(56) ORIGEN, *Commentary on Matthew*, xii, 36, *PG*, 13, col. 1065-1068.

(57) ANASTASIUS OF ANTIOCH, *Hom. De Transfiguratione*, 3, *PG*, 89, col. 1365-1368.

(58) MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR, *Questiones at Dubia*, 191, in J. H. DECKLERCK (ed.), *Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca*, 10 (1982), pp. 132-133.

(59) JOHN OF DAMASCUS, *Sermon on the Transfiguration*, 8, *PG*, 96, col. 557-560.

for the visual representation of this theme. One of the most prominent points of the biblical narrative of the Transfiguration is the description of the face of Christ. Matthew writes that "his face shone like the sun" ([60]), while in the corresponding narrative Luke writes "his face changed" ([61]), and Mark writes "he was transfigured" ([62]), implying, in this context, that this was the definitive feature of the Transfiguration as an event. This is one of the most interesting visual clues provided by the biblical narrative. There is an additional theological background to it though, as Christ has been often referred to as the Sun of Justice, or Righteousness, in several patristic writings and hymns, a theme that reverberates with the much later theology and iconography of the Divine Light. The theme of Christ as the Sun is picked up by many Fathers. The Transfigured Christ is referred to as the Sun of Justice in Origen's writings ([63]). Ephraim the Syrian writes that the disciples saw two suns on Thabor, the sun that is Christ being brighter than the natural sun ([64]). Basil the Great as well, writes that the disciples "saw his beauty on the mountain more radiant than the very radiance of the sun" ([65]). Christ was, according to Ambrose, the eternal Sun of Justice and the divine Sun ([66]). Similar expressions can be found in the writings of Pseudo-Leo ([67]), Augustine ([68]), John of Damascus ([69]), and many other Fathers.

The expression "Sun of Justice" is, of course, taken from the Old Testament and Jewish tradition ([70]). There is some evidence however, that reveals a particular connection between the divine light and the Sun of Justice in Jewish mystical tradition and the Transfiguration. This kind of mystical background can be found in the Jewish feast of the Tabernacles

(60) MATTHEW 17 : 2.

(61) LUKE 9 : 29.

(62) MARK 9 : 2.

(63) ORIGEN, *Commentary on Matthew*, xii, 37, *PG*, 13, col. 1069, *Homilies on the Gospel according to Luke*, *PG*, 13, col. 1908.

(64) Cited in MIZIOLEK, p. 50.

(65) BASIL OF CAESAREA, *Homily in Ps. 44*, 5, *PG*, 29, col. 400.

(66) AMBROSE OF MILAN, *Expositio Evangelii Secundum Lucam* vii, 14, *PL*, 15, col. 1790.

(67) PSEUDO-LEO, *Sermo xx, De Transfiguratione Domini*, *PL*, 54, col. 520-522.

(68) AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, *Homily 28*, *PL*, 38, col. 490-493.

(69) JOHN OF DAMASCUS, *Sermon on the Transfiguration*, 13, *PG*, 96, col. 564-565.

(70) MALACHI 4 : 2.

(*Sukkot*), which, according to a widely respected study published by Harald Riesenfeld ([71]), is the antecedent or typos of the feast of the Transfiguration. According to Riesenfeld, the major feast of the pre-exile Hebrews was the New Year (*Ros ha-sana*), during which Yahweh and the king were, symbolically, enthroned. This was preceded by the eight days of the feast of the Tabernacles. In the post-exile period the Jews adopted the Babylonian calendar and the two feasts were separated, but the final day of the feast of the Tabernacles retained the enthronement theme. Moreover, the feast of the Tabernacles acquired a more spiritual and messianic character. Riesenfeld, comparing the features common to both feasts, argued that the Transfiguration corresponded to the final day of the feast of the Tabernacles and the enthronement of the Messiah as the mystical king "in the order of Melchisedek", who, interestingly enough, appears to have a connection with Thabor in a tradition that originates in the third or fourth century ([72]). Despite the strong analogies between the two feasts demonstrated by Riesenfeld, it is hard to draw the historical connection between them. However, the proposed connection between the feast of the Tabernacles and the feast of the Transfiguration which originated in the Eastern provinces of the Roman Empire would not only explain in part the gap between the relatively short biblical narratives and the importance of the Transfiguration in Eastern theology and liturgical life, but is also consistent with the mystical content of common themes such as the Glory of God, the divine light, the forthcoming Passion, the tabernacles, etc.

Indeed, it seems that the background of the feast of the Tabernacles, if we accept the connection with the feast of the Transfiguration, provides more evidence towards the underlying theme of the Sun of Justice. Philo's writings on the feast of the Tabernacles echo the significance of the Transfiguration as a celebration of the Christian Sun of Justice and the divine light. The autumn equinox, when the Jewish feast takes place, expresses for Philo the "source and fountain of justice", and "light

(71) H. RIESENFELD, *Jésus Transfiguré*, Copenhagen, 1947.

(72) Cfr pseudo-Athanasius in the fourth century, who mentions that Melchisedek spent seven years in Thabor, and this is where he met Abraham, *PG*, 28, col. 525-530, especially col. 528. The same connection is found later in JOHN PHOKAS's *Ekphrasis* in the twelfth century, *PG*, 133, col. 937 BC. Cited in I. ŠEVČENKO, *The Early Period of Sinai in the Light of its Inscriptions*, in *DOP*, 20 (1966), pp. 260-261.

without shadow" ([73]), the first layer of the meaning of the feast of the Tabernacles. This justice flows out of the balance between two opposites, day and night, and is described by Philo as the Logos or, in this case, one of its variants, the figure of Light-Stream, which is a beneficiary flow from God to man. At the same time, Philo observes that the feast occurs at a time when the moon shines all night, and for this reason there is no complete darkness at night. All this is very similar to the revelation of Christ, the Logos and the Sun (or source) of Justice in the Christian tradition, in the light of his glory, and his balanced hypostasis, which includes the human and the divine and bridges the gap between them. In addition, Philo comments on the number eight, corresponding to the eight days that the feast lasts, as the number that symbolizes the transition between the material and the immaterial world, something that resonates with the Transfiguration as a transition between the two worlds, and with the eight rays of the Sinai mosaic. Philo's approach suggests that there is more to the symbolism of the Sun of Justice than the iconographical tradition of the pagan god. The visual model of the Roman Sun may have been inherited from pagan art, but there seems to be a connection with the mystical background of Judaism as well, as another formative factor in the adaptation of the symbolism.

Moreover, as the overall theology and iconography of the Transfiguration demonstrates, one of the central themes of the Transfiguration was the presence and representation of the divine light, another concept that entered Christian thought through Philo. The theology of darkness can, according to certain scholars ([74]), be traced to Philo, although it is usually associated with pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and Gregory of Nyssa, and its influence on iconography may already be seen in the Sinai Transfiguration.

The oval mandorla that envelops the transfigured Christ in Sinai consists of three increasingly dark layers, with the darkest one in the middle. This arrangement of light and darkness in the aura of He who is the Light, corresponds to the literal and the metaphorical darkness or blindness caused by excessive luminosity. John Chrysostom, writing on the Transfiguration, observed that the eyes of the disciples "were darkened by excessive radiance" ([75]), but we should keep in mind that the divine

(73) PHILO, *On the Special Laws*, II, 204.
(74) Cfr LOUTH, *The Origins*, pp. 18-35.
(75) JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *Homily 56*, 3, *PG*, 58, col. 550.

light and the divine darkness were experienced not only by the physical, but also by the spiritual vision of the disciples. The Sinai synthesis, apparently closer to the mystical rather than the literal content of the Transfiguration, corresponds to the views of Philo, Gregory of Nyssa and pseudo-Dionysius on the divine darkness, three authors who, interestingly enough, used Moses as their ascetic model in their mystical writings. The ascent of the soul, likened to Moses' ascent of Sinai evident in the connection of the Moses panels to the Transfiguration mosaic, ends, for all three mystics, in divine darkness. The Sinai mandorla, different in that respect from the circular luminous mandorla that was almost exclusively used until the eleventh century, expresses the culmination of the ascetic ascent in the most mystical representation of the time, the depiction of the excessive divine light as the darkness of the incognoscibility of God even in his revelation. The three layers seem to be a Christian contribution to the pictorial tradition that started with the clipeus and the pagan representations of the Sun ([76]).

The mandorla has often been interpreted as a symbol of the cosmos, consistent with Maximus' view of the Transfiguration, as we saw earlier, something that is manifested in different pictorial ways throughout iconographic history. In the case of the oval mandorla, writers such as Paul Evdokimov ([77]) have argued that the universe is represented by the three concentric layers. The background of this symbolism has been traced to the Neoplatonic tradition ([78]). Plotinus used the image of the sun as a metaphor for the One, and described a system of concentric spheres around the sun/One, representing its different emanations, each of them being a little less luminous than the one closer to the center, describing the entire universe in the form of an "imaginary sphere" ([79]). The obvious difference between the Plotinian model and the Sinai mandorla is that in the latter the luminosity of the layers decreases towards the center. This is quite consistent with the theology of pseudo-Dionysius, who developed a Celestial Hierarchy based on the number three, in which the various hierarchical layers, as in the Plotinian model, receive light from the layers

(76) Cfr GRABAR, pp.117-118.

(77) P. EVDOKIMOV, *The Art of the Icon : A Theology of Beauty*, Redondo Beach, California, 1990, p. 305.

(78) Cfr A. GRABAR, *Plotin et les origines de l' esthétique mediévale*, in *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 1 (1945), and R. FERWERDA, *La signification des images et des métaphores dans la pensée de Plotin*, Groningen, 1965.

(79) PLOTINUS, *Ennead IV*, 3, 17, and *Ennead VI*, 4,7.

closer to God and emit it to the outer ones. The ultimate level of the divine light however, cannot be seen, as God cannot be seen and known. Whereas the entire universe is described in terms of godsent illumination (φωτοδοσία) ([80]), its apex and source of light is dark, not in the sense of the absence of light, but in the sense of so much light that it is perceived as darkness. It is contestable whether a representation of the universe in general inspired by the pseudo-Dionysian hierarchy would use the symbolism of Divine Darkness at all since the created order is filled with light, but it seems more reasonable to say that the Sinai mandorla does not represent the entire cosmos but only the transfiguration of the physical space around Christ caused by the transfiguration of his body, which corresponds with the central layers of the pseudo-Dionysian version of the imaginary sphere, where the Glory of God is revealed in the form of the Divine Darkness.

b. *Representation of the voice of God*

Another diversion from the textual tradition in the Sinai mosaic is the absence of a hand holding a scroll at the top of the icon, which usually symbolizes the voice of God. Such an example can be seen in the Transfiguration of the Brescia casket (Fig. 5) and the Transfiguration of St. Apollinaris (Fig. 4), as well as in some middle-Byzantine depictions. This feature is absent from the Sinai Transfiguration however, and it is hard to comprehend why. Icons of the Baptism, on the other hand, the other icon of a case where the voice of the Father was heard, almost never fail to include a representation of the hand of God with a scroll.

It can be argued that such a representation might be redundant since the Godhead is revealed in the Glory of the Transfigured Christ, but this seems unlikely for three reasons : a. The voice of the Father is an essential element of the narrative. The words "This is my beloved Son. Listen to him" are mentioned in all three synoptic gospel narratives ; in fact according to Matthew it is the voice, as opposed to the luminous cloud, that terrified the disciples and threw them to the ground. b. Iconography was never particularly afraid of such redundancies, as it can be seen for instance in the icons of John the Baptist that routinely depict his head twice, on his shoulders and on a silver platter. c. There are three cases

(80) Cfr the prologue to the *Celestial Hierarchy* 1, 2 (121ab) and, related to the Transfiguration, *Divine Names* 1,4 (592c).

where the voice of God the Father is heard in the New Testament : the Baptism, the Transfiguration and, according to the Johannine gospel, on Palm Sunday ([81]). In all three cases the voice of the Father reveals something of his filial relationship with Christ, making them expressions of hypostatical definition rather than unity of essence. This would be a reason to represent the hand of the Father separately from the Glory of the Son, as in icons of Baptism.

It is more likely to interpret the omission of such a conspicuous theophany, as well as the aforementioned problem of the representation of the cloud, as an indication that the gospel narrative was only a secondary source of material and inspiration for the Sinai Transfiguration. It seems that the primary role of the icon in this case was not so much to merely repeat a story from the gospel that was well known to the monks of Sinai anyway, but rather to comment on some important theological issues with wider ramifications, related to the Transfiguration, such as the two natures of Christ, the harmonization of the two Testaments, or the divine light. We have to remember that even when the monks were not particularly educated, they were nevertheless in living contact with the theological issues of the time. In a way that appears almost paradoxical to the modern scholar, it was possible for Eastern monks to be illiterate and at the same time quite informed of the deeper or mystical interpretations of the Gospel and the Patristic tradition, through the sermons of their abbot, or the hymns and the services. It should not surprise us then, to accept that they could easily discern the theological interpretation of such a complex icon. Icons that followed more closely "the letter of tradition" were probably intended for wider audiences. It is also important to keep in mind that the church and the mosaic were built for the monks of Sinai, and that can also be seen in the theme of *theosis* (deification).

The monastic struggle towards theosis is even now evident in the Sinai monastery, and it was only a few years after the monastery was built that John Climacus, the author of the *Ladder of Divine Ascent*, entered it. The Transfiguration in Eastern tradition has been connected to the deification of man and the ascent towards the divine, something that was especially stressed in the hesychastic theology of late Byzantium. This theme however, is already apparent in the Sinai mosaic. In contrast to later depictions of the Transfiguration, the disciples are very close to Christ and the prophets, which suggests that theosis is within reach. Later

(81) JOHN 12 : 28.

Transfiguration icons include a representation of Mount Thabor, which not only divides the icon into the "transfigured" part (Christ and the prophets) and the "struggling" part (the unperfected disciples, with whom we identify), but also changes the symmetry of the entire composition, which seems to be based on a non-symmetrical cross, with its lower part elongated. Interestingly, this corresponds to the transition between the use of the Greek equilateral cross and the Latin cross (with the center moved upwards). The Latin cross did not become standard until the time of the Carolingians, but the development of the Transfiguration icon shows the same tendency to elevate the center much earlier. Both phenomena demonstrate a tendency to elevate the center of faith from the earth to the spiritual sphere, but at the same time the added distance demonstrates how difficult it is to achieve the goal of theosis. In spite of the preservation and development of this doctrine especially in the hesychastic tradition, the Sinai Transfiguration strikes us as a depiction of the distance between man and the Godhead, which is not as difficult to cover. Theosis seems much more achievable here than in later depictions.

In addition to two aforementioned representational problems, and in complete contrast to subsequent representations of the Transfiguration, the Sinai mosaic includes virtually no depiction of the mountain that was identified as Thabor by the patristic tradition. Elsner argued that the green stripe on the bottom of the mosaic represents the peak of Thabor ([82]), but even if he is right and the green stripe is a minimalist representation of Thabor, its iconographic significance is grossly understated. Weitzmann argued that the absence of Thabor was intended to give a more eschatological dimension to the scene, as if the event could have taken place in Heaven instead of Thabor, suggesting the parallelism between the Transfiguration and the Second Coming that can be found in patristic tradition ([83]). This view is not supported by any other Transfiguration representation however, except in the case of St. Apollinaris, and it presents more theological and representational problems. Even if we take into account that the church is built on a mountain filled with spiritual tradition, or that the accompanying Moses panels imply the spiritual ascent usually ascribed to the ascent of Thabor in patristic tradition, the absence of Mount Thabor from the mosaic is still difficult to explain. It might be possible however, to explain the discrepancies between the mosaic and

(82) ELSNER, p. 112.
(83) FORSYTH and WEITZMANN, p. 14.

the biblical and patristic evidence on the basis of the iconographic prototypes of the Sinai mosaic.

Visual prototypes

Trying to determine the iconographic antecedents of the Sinai mosaic is quite a difficult task, because the information is scarce. We have to rely on descriptions or copies of original icons, and then we can almost never be sure that the relevant information is precise. Researchers of iconography cite two examples of possible Transfiguration depictions that predate the Sinai mosaic, one on the ivory Brescia casket (Fig. 5), which dates from the fourth century, and one on the wooden doors of St. Sabina, in Rome (Fig. 6), from the middle of the 5th century, but I think the identification of these depictions is problematic and, as we will see, their connection with later Transfiguration depictions is even more so.

There is a mention of another major Transfiguration depiction that may date back to the sixth century, a mosaic in the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. The church itself was built before 560, but the mosaic is first described by Constantine of Rhodes ([84]) some time between 931 and 944, and again, in more detail, by Nikolaos Mesarites ([85]) around the year 1200. Certain scholars have suggested that the mosaic is as old as the church, but others, such as Henry Maguire ([86]), have argued that the descriptions are more consistent with the artistic style of the ninth if not the twelfth century, and therefore it is quite probable that even if there was a Transfiguration mosaic in the sixth century in the church, the testimonies we have describe a mosaic that replaced it because it did not survive time or the iconoclastic turmoil. At any rate, even if the Holy Apostles mosaic is indeed as old as the Sinai mosaic, its description by Mesarites indicates quite clearly that there is little visual relationship between the two. In the Holy Apostles mosaic, according to Mesarites' description, the disciples are placed in different positions (Peter standing,

(84) Edited by E. Legrand, in *Description des oeuvres d'art et de l'église des Saints-Apôtres de Constantinople : poème en vers iambiques par Constantin le Rhodien*, in *REG*, 9 (1896), pp. 36-65.

(85) Edited by G. Downey, *Nikolaos Mesarites : Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople*, in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, N.S., volume 47, part 6, (1957).

(86) H. Maguire, *Truth and Convention in Byzantine Descriptions of Works of Art*, in *DOP*, 28 (1974), pp. 122-124.

James kneeling and John on the ground), as opposed to the symmetric arrangement of the disciples in the Sinai mosaic. Furthermore, Elijah and Moses are probably placed inside the mandorla, which for this reason must have been round. Finally, the mosaic included a depiction of the hand of God, symbolizing the voice heard by the disciples. It is evident, therefore, that even if we put the question of the dating of the Holy Apostles Transfiguration mosaic aside, it could hardly be considered a visual prototype for the Sinai Transfiguration.

The St. Sabina scene (Fig. 6) has been identified as a Transfiguration by several scholars, but not with a great degree of certainty. The palm trees that accompany the three figures, forming an arch behind Christ, is a symbol early Christians used to denote spiritual excellence, after the Roman symbolism for athletic excellence. There are countless references in patristic writings to the life of the monk especially, as a "spiritual athlete". Furthermore, the palm branch and the palm tree (lulab) were used by the Jews to represent "the hope and achievement of immortality or of mystic consummation" ([87]), and were especially associated with the feast of the Tabernacles. The palm trees can be found in Transfiguration scenes, such as the Transfiguration in the apse of St. Apollinaris, but they can also be found in other scenes that could be mistaken for the Transfiguration, such as the *traditio legis*, which will be discussed later.

The Brescia casket scene (Fig. 5) is almost as difficult to identify. If what lies under the feet of the three figures is supposed to be a mountain, it is most certainly a Transfiguration scene, because it is supported by the depiction of the hand of God descending from the Heavens, symbolizing the voice of God mentioned in the synoptic gospels. The problem is that the strange shape under the feet of the three persons looks more like water, and that makes the scene difficult to identify. It cannot be a representation of the Baptism because there are three figures instead of two (Christ and John the Baptist), and it cannot be Christ walking on the water with two of his disciples as one scholar has suggested ([88]), because the hand of God would have no meaning in this case.

At any rate, even if we ignore all these problems of symbolism and identification, and even if we do accept that the Brescia casket scene and

(87) E. GOODENOUGH, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-roman Period*, New York, 1954, vol. 4, p. 165.

(88) W. F. VOLBACH, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, Mainz, 1952.

the scene on the St. Sabina doors depict the Transfiguration, it is hard to see how they could have shared or provided a typology for the Sinai Transfiguration. We face similar problems when we expand our research and try to locate iconographic similarities in ancient icons or representations that may have a theological kinship to the Transfiguration other than the aforementioned *Sol Dominus Imperii Romani*, such as the Ascension of Christ and the Assumption of Elijah. It seems that such icons were based on completely different iconographic models, as they present no conceptual or pictorial similarities with the Sinai Transfiguration. This is important, because if the previous Transfiguration depictions we know of indicate that the Sinai mosaic is an original artistic conception, even if it was somehow based on older iconographic types, it created a new type and iconographic tradition, and indicates the presence of a learned theologian.

Our quest for a previous model becomes easier if we consider that the Sinai mosaic was made for the east apse, the main apse of the church. There is a number of iconographical themes that were particularly popular for apse decorations, almost always featuring Christ in the middle, a tradition that has survived to date ; the iconographic convention in Byzantine churches dictates that the icon on the dome, the most impressive and important icon, is reserved for Christ Pantokrator, and the apse icon, the second place in the hierarchy of church icons, for the Virgin Platytera. In churches without a dome, the icon of Christ Pantokrator is featured in the east apse. Early apse themes included the Last Judgment, Christ or the Virgin flanked by saints and angels, and Christ teaching.

There is one early apse theme in particular, that presents a striking visual resemblance to the Sinai Transfiguration, and could have provided an iconographic typology for the Sinai Transfiguration, and this is the *traditio legis*, Christ giving the law. This theme was created in Rome in the fourth century, probably for the main apse of St. Peter. The original mosaic is not extant, but it was copied extensively, and some representations that were made after it have survived, such as the north apse of St. Costanza in Rome (Fig. 7). Moreover, as Beckwith argued, there is good reason to believe that the thirteenth-century mosaic at St. Peter, of which an official copy was made before it was demolished, followed the model of its predecessor ([89]).

(89) J. Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, Harmandsworth, 1970, pp. 11-12.

The *traditio legis* featured Christ flanked by the Chief Apostles and Roman martyrs, Peter and Paul, and two palm trees. Christ hands the Law in the form of a scroll to Peter, on the right part of the icon. Four lambs underneath represent the disciples, between the cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem. The two cities, as well as Peter and Paul, symbolize the Gentile and the Jewish arms of the Church. The overall pictorial balance seems very similar to the Sinai Transfiguration.

The *traditio legis* explains the peculiarities of the Sinai Transfiguration, namely the absence of the hand of God and Mount Thabor. Moreover, the positions and postures of the two disciples correspond precisely to the positions and postures of the two prophets, with a small difference : Peter, on the right part of the *traditio legis*, receives the Law from Christ, but this does not happen with Moses in the Sinai Transfiguration. It is not difficult however, to make the connection between Moses in the Transfiguration and Moses who receives the Law in the panel directly above. Moses holds a scroll or book in virtually every other representation of the Transfiguration, as the Law he holds identifies him in iconographic syntax, and it is easy to see how the connection to the panel above satisfies the usual symbolism of the ancient *traditio legis*. Furthermore, the representation of Peter, the New Moses, and Paul, the ascetic theologian in the vein of Elijah and John who saw the divine light on the road to Damascus, is impressively similar to the representation of the prophets at the Transfiguration. In addition, the (four) lambs on the lower part of the image correspond precisely to the (three) lambs in the St. Apollinaris mosaic, and figuratively to the position of the disciples in Eastern Transfiguration icons. Overall, the *traditio legis* is an acceptable prototype for the Sinai Transfiguration, much more than any other icon, and its position in the main apse of St. Peter's, as well as its extensive copying in Roman churches, made it famous enough in the first Christian centuries to be considered a prototype or an influence for the Sinai Transfiguration.

The main reason or rather the initial inspiration for the choice of the *traditio legis* as a prototype for the depiction of the Transfiguration may have been artistic, but it is certain that wider ramifications were considered. The icon of the *traditio legis* was meant to express the balance between the Jewish and the Gentile tradition, something that corresponds with the harmonization between the Old and the New Testament, one of the major themes of patristic exegesis on the Transfiguration. Furthermore, the clearly eschatological character of the *traditio legis* is

consistent with the eschatological character of the Transfiguration, something that can be seen more clearly in the apse of St. Apollinaris in Classe. The ritual connection between the lulab (palm tree) and the feast of the Tabernacles has been mentioned, and although the Sinai Transfiguration is represented as simply as possible, the theological overseer of the Sinai Transfiguration might have noticed the coincidence between the local symbol of the Jewish tradition, associated with the antecedent of the feast of the Transfiguration, and the Roman symbol of athletic and spiritual excellence featured in the *traditio legis*. In addition, the use of a very Roman iconographic theme for something that was (and is) a predominantly Eastern feast, says something about the greatness of the Byzantine empire that stretched from the East to the West, and its cohesion under Christ and Emperor.

Conclusion

In this paper I attempted to shed some light on the theological and artistic background of the famous icon that is almost as old as iconography itself. We have seen how complex this problem is, how manifold the meaning of the mosaic and how much connected with different theological and artistic issues. The Sinai mosaic is certainly an unusual work, with features such as the proto-deesis above the Transfiguration and the oval mandorla that will disappear until the eleventh century. It would be tempting on these grounds alone, to question the date of the mosaic, but the proto-Byzantine style of the figures and the archeological evidence (90) do not allow us to do so. Many of the aspects of the Sinai synthesis have never been addressed, although the investigation of such an influential icon is also an investigation of the origins of the Transfiguration iconography. A full evaluation of the origins of the Transfiguration iconography in general would also include the examination of the origins of other ancient seminal icons, and should expand on issues we

(90) The Forsyth-Weitzmann team that restored the mosaic in 1958 noted that "no trace of a later resetting of cubes could be detected anywhere" — Weitzmann (1966), p. 399. Moreover, although the team removed mosaic cubes from more than fifty spots in order to clean them, there is no mention of any older image underneath. The team had no doubt that the Sinai mosaic was the "best preserved one from the Early Byzantine period" — Weitzmann (1966), p. 400.

merely touched here, such as its Biblical and Patristic background, as well as the subsequent theology that may be related to the depiction of the Transfiguration, the general treatment of theological concepts brought about by Christianity or inherited from Jewish mysticism and expressed with Hellenistic means, and the development of concepts that were introduced in the first period of Transfiguration iconography, but were fully articulated in later periods, such as the divine light and hesychia, the cosmic dimensions of the Transfiguration, and the semiotic significance of the icon of the revelation of the Glory of God.

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NOTES ON THE PREFECTS OF CONSTANTINOPLE AD 366-369 (*)

At present a lacuna exists in lists of the Prefects of Constantinople from the end of the Procopius rebellion in AD 366 until 369 (1). The last available information before this break in the succession of eastern urban prefects concerns the fortunes of two Prefects of Constantinople during the Procopius revolt centered on the eastern capital in AD 365 and 366. Ammianus Marcellinus, XXVI, 7. 4, Zosimus, IV, 6. 2, and Themistius, *Oration* 7, 91b, report that early in his insurrection Procopius imprisoned Caesarius (2), Valens' Prefect of the city, and placed his own partisan Phronemius (3) over the eastern urban prefecture. Zosimus adds that Caesarius was tortured in captivity and was forced to sign documents supporting Procopius' bid for power. Ammianus, XXVI, 10. 8, relates that after Procopius' defeat in late spring of AD 366 Phronemius was banished to the Crimea. It appears from Themistius' account (*Or.* 7, 92c) that Caesarius survived the revolt, but Themistius, Ammianus and Zosimus do not inform their readers whether Valens returned Caesarius to office or replaced him with another individual (4). No successor to

(*) Material of this essay concerning the early career of Sophronius was expanded into a paper presented at the Twenty-fourth Byzantine Studies Conference, Lexington, Kentucky, in November of 1998.

(1) *PLRE*, I, p. 1056 ; O. SEECK, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n. Chr.*, Stuttgart, 1919, p. 475 ; L. CANTARELLI, *La serie dei prefetti di Costantinopoli I : da Costanzo II alla morte di Valente (a. D. 359-378)*, in *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche*, 30 (1921), p. 211 ; G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale : Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*, Paris, 1974, pp. 246, 275, 278 ; R. GUILLAND, *Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin. L'éparque. I. L'éparque de la Ville (suite)*, *Bsl*, 41 (1980), p. 145.

(2) For Caesarius see *infra* n. 27.

(3) For Phronemius see *PLRE*, I, *Phronemius*, p. 701 ; CANTARELLI (*supra* n. 1), p. 211 ; DAGRON, p. 246.

(4) For Ammianus' coverage of the Procopius adventure see M.-A. MARIÉ, ed. and tr., *Ammien Marcellin, Histoire*, V, Paris, 1984, pp. 215-31 nn. 61-146 ;

FIG. 1 (*)

FIG. 2 (*)

(*) Figures 1, 2 and 3 reproduced through the courtesy of the Michigan - Princeton - Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai.

FIG. 3 (*)

FIG. 4

FIG. 5

FIG. 6

FIG. 7

Phronemius is known until Domitius Modestus in the summer of AD 369 (5).

The lack of information for the period after the Procopius rebellion derives from several factors. One is the attitude toward Constantinople and its prefects reflected in the surviving narrative histories for those years. Ammianus Marcellinus' *Res Gestae*, the most important surviving narrative history of the later fourth century AD, centers its attention on Rome as the traditional capital of the Empire and shows little interest in Constantinople and its prefects outside the necessities of the narrative (6). Ammianus names only one eastern urban prefect in his entire surviving account (7). Ammianus' silence about eastern urban prefects is in contrast to the ample information that he gives about the Prefects of Rome and

W. SEYFARTH, tr., *Ammianus Marcellinus, Römische Geschichte*, IV, Berlin, 1971, pp. 308-13 nn. 58-127 ; cf. J. MATTHEWS, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, Baltimore, 1989, pp. 191-203 ; R. C. BLOCKLEY, *Ammianus Marcellinus : A Study of His Historiography and Political Thought*, Brussels, 1975, pp. 55-61 ; T. G. ELLIOTT, *Ammianus Marcellinus and Fourth Century History*, Sarasota, Fl., 1983, pp. 144-7 ; F. REICHE, *Chronologie der letzten 6 Bücher des Ammianus Marcellinus*, Liegnitz, 1889, pp. 15-8. For Zosimus' handling of Procopius and his revolt see F. PASCHOUD, ed. and tr., *Zosime, Histoire nouvelle*, II, 2, Paris, 1979, pp. 339-49 nn. 113-22, and pp. 350-2 n. 124. Zosimus reproduces in more concise form the account of Eunapius, an important historian whose contemporary history of the last half of the fourth century survives only in citations of later writers and Byzantine compendia : *FHG*, IV, pp. 7-56 ; cf. R. T. RIDLEY, *Eunapius and Zosimus*, in *Helikon*, 9-10 (1969-1970), pp. 574-92, esp. pp. 582-92 ; A. BALDINI ; *Ricerche sulla storia di Eunapio di Sardi*, Bologna, 1984, pp. 61-2 n. 76. For Themistius' presentation of Procopius and his rebellion in *Oration* 7 see J. M. SUGARS, *Themistius' Seventh Oration : Text, Translation and Commentary* (dissertation, U. of California), Irvine, 1997, *passim*, esp. pp. 69-72, 87-453 ; cf. P. GRATTAROLA, *L'usurpazione di Procopio e la fine dei Costantinidi*, in *Aevum*, 60 (1986), pp. 82-105 *passim* ; J. VANDERSPOEL, *Themistius and the Imperial Court*, Ann Arbor, 1995, pp. 161-7. For the text of *Oration* 7 see G. DOWNEY and A. F. NORMAN, eds, *Themistii Orationes*, I-III, Leipzig, 1965-1974, I, pp. 127-151. For modern discussions of the Procopius revolt see the literature cited *infra* n. 133.

(5) See *infra* n. 98 and text discussion.

(6) E. A. THOMPSON, *The Historical Work of Ammianus Marcellinus*, Cambridge, 1947, p. 17 ; H. DREXLER, *Ammianstudien*, Hildesheim and New York, 1974, p. 5 ; J. M. ALONSO-NÚÑEZ, *La visión historiográfica de Ammiano Marcelino*, Valladolid, 1975, pp. 141-54, esp. pp. 144-7 ; REICHE, p. 68 n. 26.

(7) Sophronius : XXVI, 7, 2.

their activities ([8]). Zosimus, who shows great interest in the late Roman high officialdom ([9]), mentions only two Prefects of Constantinople in his history ([10]). The small concern for Constantinople and its governors in eastern pagan historiography of Late Antiquity reflects the disdain of eastern intellectuals for the city as a symbol of the presence of the Christian Roman Empire in the Hellenic East ([11]). Eastern pagan writers focus on the tyrannical activities of Valens after the Procopius rebellion as an example of a Roman emperor who did not possess the Hellenic culture necessary for proper rulership ([12]). Christian historiography also shows a disinterest in the Prefects of Constantinople after the Procopius episode. Although they preserve important information about the Procopius rebellion and its aftermath ([13]), the ecclesiastical historians focus their coverage of the years after that rebellion on Valens and his church policy, especially his persecution of opposing Christian

(8) Supplemented by laws and inscriptions, Ammianus' history provides an accurate record of the identity and succession of the Prefects of Rome from c. AD 355 to c. 375 : ALONSO-NÚÑEZ, pp. 143-4 ; O. SEECK, *Die Reihe der Stadtpräfecten bei Ammianus Marcellinus*, in *Hermes*, 18 (1883), pp. 289-303 ; cf. W. KLEIN, *Studien zu Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Klio*, Beiheft, 13 (1914), pp. 48-53 ; REICHE, pp. 36-8 ; THOMPSON, p. 17 ; DREXLER, pp. 13-9 ; T. D. BARNES, *Ammianus Marcellinus and the Representation of Historical Reality*, Ithaca, NY, and London, 1998, pp. 237-40.

(9) R. T. RIDLEY, *The Fourth and Fifth Century Civil and Military Hierarchy in Zosimus*, in *Byz.*, 40 (1970), pp. 91-104.

(10) Caesarius, AD 365 (IV, 6. 2) and Proclus, AD 389-392 (IV, 45. 1, and 52. 1) : RIDLEY, *Byz.*, 40 (1970), pp. 99, 102.

(11) R. DOSTÁLOVÁ, *Frühbyzantinische Profanhistoriker*, in *Quellen zur Geschichte des frühen Byzanz (4.-9. Jahrhundert) : Bestand und Probleme*, F. WINKELMANN and W. BRANDES, eds, Amsterdam, 1990, pp. 160-1 ; cf. BALDINI, pp. 166-72 ; W. E. KAEGI, *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome* Princeton, 1968, pp. 135-42, esp. pp. 136-7 ; R. J. PENELLA, *Greek Philosophers and Sophists in the Fourth Century A.D. : Studies in Eunapius of Sardis*, Leeds, 1990, p. 135 and n. 45 ; G. DAGRON, *L'empire romain d'Orient au IV^e^ siècle et les traditions politiques de l'hellénisme : le témoignage de Thémistios*, in *TM*, 3 (1968), pp. 35-82.

(12) AM. MAR. XXVI, 10. 6-14 ; ZOS. IV, 8. 4-5, and 10. 1 ; EUN. Frag. M35 ; cf. BLOCKLEY, pp. 30-54, esp. pp. 46-8.

(13) PHILOSTORGIUS, IX, 6 and 8, reveal the ties of the Neo-Arian leader Eunomius to the Procopius faction. SOCRATES, IV, 8, reports that Valens destroyed the walls of Chalcedon for that city's complicity in the Procopius rebellion and for the insulting attitude of that city's inhabitants toward him after Procopius was killed ; cf. AM. MAR. XXXI, 1. 4, on the punishment of Chalcedon.

sectarians ([14]) ; hence, these writers mention only the officials who participated in these activities ([15]). No Prefect of Constantinople appears in these histories until Clearchus, Prefect in AD 373 (Soc. IV, 8).

A second consideration is the failure of other important sources to name or report details about the city's governors immediately after the Procopius rebellion. Late ancient consular annals and chronicles, which often preserve specific information about several fourth, fifth and sixth century AD Prefects of Constantinople ([16]), provide no entries about eastern urban prefects after the Procopius affair until Domitius Modestus in AD 369 ([17]). In addition, the letters of Libanius, which were often

(14) For the church historians' coverage of Valens' persecutions after the Procopius revolt until the early AD 370s see SOCRATES, IV, 6-22 ; SOZOMEN, VI, 8-21 ; THEODORET, IV, 12-21 ; PHILOSTORGIUS, IX, 7-14. These persecutions included the temporary expulsion from Constantinople of the Novatians and their bishop Agelius soon after the conclusion of the Procopius affair : SOCRATES, IV, 9 ; SOZOMEN, VI, 9. For modern discussions of the early religious policy of Valens, the effects of the Procopius revolt on that policy and the emperor's persecution of opposing Christians after the revolt see H. M. GWATKIN, *Studies of Arianism,* 2nd ed., Cambridge and London, 1900, pp. 231-43 ; T. A. KOPEČEK, *A History of Neo-Arianism*, Cambridge, Ma., 1979, II, pp. 422-31 ; H. C. BRENNECKE, *Studien zur Geschichte der Homöer,* Tübingen, 1988, pp. 181-224. For texts of the church histories see *PG*, 65, cols 459-638 : Philostorgius ; 67, cols 29-842 : Socrates, and cols 843-1630 : Sozomen ; 82, cols 881-1280 : Theodoret.

(15) PHILOSTORGIUS reports the exile of the Neo-Arian bishop Eunomius by Auxonius, Valens' Prefect of the East, in AD 367 (IX, 8) and his second exile by Modestus, Auxonius' successor, for suspected subversion of Valens' Homoian policy in the early 370s (11) ; SOCRATES, IV, 16, and SOZOMEN, VI, 14, recount a story of Modestus' execution of eighty presbyters by setting their ship on fire c. AD 370 (cf. THEOD. IV, 21) ; THEODORET reports Modestus' harsh treatment of Valens' Christian opponents in Edessa (IV, 15 ; cf. Soc. IV, 18 ; Soz. VI, 18) and in Caesarea, Cappadocia, in the early AD 370s (IV, 16 ; cf. Soz. VI, 16).

(16) E.g. The *Chronicon Paschale* cites activities of Prefects Vindaonius Magnus (AD 375), Aetius (AD 419) and Eudaimon (AD 532) : *PG*, 92, cols 760-1, 792, 876.

(17) *Cons. Const.* s.a. 369 ; cf. T. MOMMSEN, ed., *Chronica minora,* I, Berlin, 1892, p. 241. The only earlier prefect named in these sources is Honoratus, the first Prefect of Constantinople, installed in AD 359 : *Cons. Const.* s.a. 359 ; *Chron. Pasc.* s.a. 359 ; cf. ID., *Chronica minora,* I, p. 23 ; JER., *Chron.* s.a. 359 (*PL, 27,* col. 504).

addressed to earlier prefects ([18]), are not extant for these years ([19]). No surviving laws or inscriptions record the names or activities of eastern urban prefects at this time ([20]).

However, in another study ([21]) the present writer has argued that the correspondence of the Christian church father Gregory of Nazianzus provides evidence for the identification and succession of the Prefects of Constantinople between Phronemius and Domitius Modestus. Gregory's *Letters* 22, 23 and 24 ([22]) suggest that Caesarius, Valens' Prefect of Constantinople for AD 365, Sophronius, later Valens' *Magister officiorum*, and Themistius, the renowned philosopher-orator, were eastern urban prefects in AD 366, 367 and 368 respectively. This study will strengthen this reconstruction by resolving several textual and historical issues that this reconstruction raises. A more precise dating of these prefectships will also be given. In addition, this study will examine the historical context of the appointments of Caesarius, Sophronius and Themistius as urban prefects and the implications of these offices for their careers. However, the main interest of this essay is to argue that Themistius' prefectship of AD 368 necessitates an extensive revision of his public career, especially during the reigns of Valens and Theodosius I.

(18) LIBANIUS wrote three letters to Honoratus, the first Prefect of Constantinople, AD 359-361 (*Lets* 251, 264 and 265), one to Themistius, the Prefect of AD 362 (*Let.* 703), and several to Modestus, Prefect in AD 363 (*Lets* 1367, 804, 807, 817, 821, 827, 831). In addition, at least some of the letters that LIBANIUS wrote to Jovius in AD 364 and 365 (*Lets* 1194, 1235, 1226, 1503, 1312, 1472, 1499, 1512) were written while the latter was Prefect of the eastern capital. For these letters see O. SEECK, *Die Briefe des Libanius zeitlich geordnet*, Leipzig, 1906, pp. 215-6 ; DAGRON, *Naissance*, pp. 241-5 (Honoratus, Modestus and Jovius) ; T. BRAUCH, *The Prefect of Constantinople for 362 AD : Themistius*, in *Byz.*, 63 (1993), pp. 68-71(Themistius). P. PETIT also discusses LIBANIUS' *Letters* 251 and 265 to Honoratus in *Les sénateurs de Constantinople dans l'œuvre de Libanius*, in *L'Antiquité Classique*, 26 (1957), pp. 368-70, 376-9.

(19) No letters of Libanius from AD 365 to 388 survive. Complicity in or embarrassing connections to conspiracies or usurpers, including Procopius, seem to have induced Libanius to suppress all his correspondence from those years : G. R. SIEVERS, *Das Leben des Libanius*, Berlin, 1868, pp. 143-4 ; P. PETIT, *Les étudiants de Libanius*, Paris, 1957, pp. 67-8, 80 ; A. F. NORMAN, *The Book Trade in Fourth-Century Antioch*, in *JHS*, 80 (1960), p. 125.

(20) DAGRON, *Naissance*, p. 278.

(21) T. BRAUCH, *Patristic and Byzantine Witness to an Urban Perfectship of Themistius under Valens* in *Byz.*, 71, 2 (2001).

(22) For the text of these letters see P. GALLAY, ed. and tr., *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze, Lettres*, I-II, Paris, 1964-1967, I, pp. 30-3.

The argument for the identity, succession and general dates of the three postulated prefectships can be summarized as follows ([23]). Gregory wrote *Letters* 22, 23 and 24 respectively to Sophronius, Caesarius and Themistius asking each to intercede in a legal dispute in the capital concerning his cousin Amphilochius. Gregory's likening of Themistius in *Letter* 24 to Plato's philosopher-magistrate who held the highest power in the city and who was at that time aiding the cause of justice implies that Themistius was the current Prefect of Constantinople, the chief administrative and judicial officer of the city ([24]). In addition, the term that Gregory uses in *Letters* 22 and 24 in reference to the resource that both Sophronius and Themistius possessed to aid Amphilochius, τὸ δύνασθαι, is a term that Gregory uses in his correspondence to designate the power or authority of sitting magistrates to accomplish the benefactions that Gregory requests of them. This suggests that Sophronius and Themistius were successive Prefects of Constantinople who handled the same case concerning Amphilochius. It also appears that Sophronius was Prefect before Themistius, as the description of Amphilochius' legal problem in *Letter* 22 to Sophronius suggests a case of recent derivation while the legal issue is depicted in *Letter* 24 as an unresolved case that Themistius inherited from his predecessor. In addition, Gregory seems to have written *Letter* 23 to Caesarius as the recently retired Prefect with influence yet to bear on the judicial administration of the capital at the same time he wrote *Letter* 22 to Sophronius as the incumbent Prefect of the city ; hence, Caesarius was Sophronius' predecessor. These observations suggest the following dates of office : Caesarius, AD 366 ; Sophronius, AD 367 ; Themistius, AD 368. Two other observations of date can be made concerning Themistius' prefectship : Themistius probably entered office in late spring of AD 368 when he returned to Constantinople from the

(23) Cf. BRAUCH, *Byz.*, 71, 2 (2001), nn. 30-64 and text discussion.

(24) For the urban prefect as the chief civil and judicial administrator of a late Roman capital see M. E. COSENZA, *Official Positions after the Time of Constantine* (Dissertation, Columbia U.), Lancaster, Pa., 1905, p. 20 ; A. H. M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602 : A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey,* Norman, Ok., 1964, I, pp. 375, 481-2, 689-90 ; P.-E. VIGNEAUX, *Essai sur l'histoire de la praefectura urbis à Rome,* Paris, 1896, pp. 14, 142-302, 351-3 ; A. CHASTAGNOL, *La préfecture urbaine à Rome sous le Bas-Empire,* Paris, 1960, pp. V-XIII, and pp. 84-136 ; DAGRON, *Naissance*, pp. 277-82. R. H. BARROW, ed. and tr., *Prefect and Emperor : The Relationes of Symmachus, AD 384,* Oxford, 1973, pp. 1-4.

Valens' quinquennial festivities held on the Danube frontier in late March of that year, and his term of office could have extended into AD 369.

Other evidence supports the existence and general date of Themistius' prefectship. External witness to Themistius' prefectship of AD 368 is provided by manuscript notes to Poem XI, 292, of the *Greek Anthology* in both the Palatine and Planudean editions which refer to an eastern urban prefectship of Themistius under Valentinian I and Valens ([25]). The notes probably refer to the emperors as consuls rather than as imperial colleagues, and the notes appear to have originated in a source using consular dating for an event or an activity concerning Themistius as Prefect of Constantinople during a year that the two emperors shared the consulship. The year that the sequence of Gregory of Nazianzus' *Letters* 22, 23 and 24 suggest for Themistius' prefectship under Valens, AD 368, was a year in which Valentinian I and Valens were consuls ([26]).

Of the three prefectships posited in this study, the one of Caesarius is the most difficult to verify from sources outside Gregory's *Letter* 23 ([27]). The only other reference to Caesarius after the Procopius rebellion appears in Themistius' *Oration* 7. Themistius mentions Caesarius' imprisonment during the Procopius insurrection (91b) ([28]) and his survival of the revolt (92c) ([29]). Caesarius could not have lived long after leaving

(25) The *Palatinus* manuscript : εἰς τινα φιλόσοφον γενόμενον ὕπαρχον πόλεως ἐπὶ βαλεντινιανοῦ καὶ βάλεντος ; the Planudean version : εἰς Θεμίστιον τὸν φιλόσοφον γενόμενον ὕπαρχον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπὶ Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ καὶ Οὐάλεντος. See BRAUCH, *Byz.*, 71, 2 (2001), nn. 16-9 and text discussion.

(26) BRAUCH, *Byz.*, 71, 2 (2001), nn. 65-235 and text discussion. For the practice of consular dating in late antiquity see R. S. BAGNALL *et al.*, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire*, Atlanta, 1987, *passim*.

(27) For Caesarius and his prefectship and experiences in the Procopius revolt see DAGRON, *Naissance*, pp. 245-6, esp. p. 246 ; *PLRE*, I, *Caesarius 1*, pp. 168-9, esp. p. 169 ; SEECK, *Briefe*, *Caesarius 4*, pp. 98-9, esp. p. 99 ; ID., *Caesarius 2*, *RE*, III, 1, col. 1298 ; CANTARELLI (*supra* n. 1), pp. 210-1 ; P. PETIT, *Les fonctionnaires dans l'œuvre de Libanius : analyse prosopographique*, Paris, 1994, *Caesarius IV*, pp. 56-7.

(28) Ἀρχαὶ δὲ αἱ μέγισται (Nebridius, Praetorian Prefect of the East, and Caesarius, Prefect of Constantinople) μετά γε τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐν μοίρᾳ κακούργων ἦσαν συνειλημμέναι. See GRATTAROLA, *Aevum*, 60 (1986), p. 89 ; R. MAISANO, ed. and tr., *Discorsi di Temistio*, Turin, 1995, p. 338, n. 36.

(29) Τοῖν δὲ ἀρχόντοιν τοῖν κορυφαίοιν ὁ μὲν τεθνηκὼς ἠπιστεῖτο (Nebridius), ὁ δὲ οὐ τεθνηκὼς ἐπιστεύθη τεθνάναι (Caesarius). See

his office and receiving Gregory's *Letter* 23, as he thereafter drops out of the historical record ([30]).

One question concerning Gregory's letters is the identity of the Caesarius who received *Letter* 23. The standard view is that this individual was Valens' Prefect of Constantinople for AD 365 ([31]), but this identification is not secure ([32]). Part of the difficulty is the religious affiliation of the addressee of this letter. The Caesarius of *Letter* 23 appears to be a Christian from the reference to divinity in the singular (θεῷ) at the end of the letter ([33]). But Caesarius the Prefect of Constantinople had a brother, Alypius, who aided the Emperor Julian in establishing his religious policies ([34]), and one would expect Caesarius to have been a pagan ([35]). The

GRATTAROLA, *Aevum*, 60 (1986), p. 100 and n. 203 ; H. LEPPIN and W. PORTMANN, trs, *Themistios : Staatsreden*, Stuttgart, 1998, p. 139 n. 45.

(30) Cf. SEECK, *RE*, III, 1 (1897), col. 1298 ; ID., *Briefe*, p. 99.

(31) *PLRE*, I, p. 169 ; M. M. HAUSER-MEURY, *Prosopographie zu den Schriften Gregors von Nazianz*, Bonn, 1960, *Caesarius II*, p. 51.

(32) GALLAY, *Lettres*, I, p. 31 n. 1 : "Le destinataire est peut-être le magistrat qui fut préfet de Constantinople en 365" ; *PLRE*, I, p. 169 : "Perhaps [the] recipient of Greg. Naz. *Ep.* 23 (c.a. 369)" ; C. VOGLER, *L'administration impériale dans la correspondance de saint Basile et saint Grégoire de Nazianze*, in *Institutions, société et vie politique dans l'empire romain au IV^e^ siècle ap. J.-C*, M. CHRISTOL, ed., Rome, 1992, p. 448 n. 3 : "Grègoire adresse ... la lettre 23 ... à Césaire, qui devait être le préfet de Constantinople en 365". Cf. HAUSER-MEURY, p. 51. GALLAY is less skeptical about this identification in his German edition of Gregory's letters : *Gregor von Nazianz. Briefe*, Berlin, 1969, p. XVI. The identification goes back to L. S. LE NAIN DE TILLEMONT, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, IX, Paris, 1703, p. 618.

(33) Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν αἰδέσθητι καὶ τὸ φιλάνθρωπον ὑπόθες ταῖς παρ' ἡμῶν εὐλογίαις, ὧν ἴσως τις παρὰ θεῷ λόγος, ᾧ παρεστήκαμεν, 5 ; cf. HAUSER-MEURY, p. 51 ; R. VON HAEHLING, *Die Religionszugehörigkeit der hohen Amtsträger des römischen Reiches seit Constantins I. Alleinherrschaft bis zum Ende der theodosianischen Dynastie (324-450 bzw. 455 n. Chr.)*, Bonn, 1978, pp. 112, 117.

(34) *PLRE*, I, *Alypius 4*, pp. 46-7 ; O. SEECK, *Alypios 1*, *RE*, I, 2 (1894), col. 1709 ; ID., *Briefe*, *Alypius*, pp. 56-7 ; cf. JULIAN, *Letters* 6 and 7 : W. C. WRIGHT, tr., *The Works of the Emperor Julian*, III, London and Cambridge, Ma., 1961, pp. 16-21. Julian placed Alypius in charge of the project to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem to disprove the Christian prophecy that it would never be rebuilt.

(35) As does PETIT, *Les fonctionnaires*, p. 57.

religion of Caesarius the eastern urban prefect in AD 365 remains in doubt ([36]).

The only source by which Caesarius' religious outlook and personality can be established is the nineteen surviving letters that Libanius addressed to him ([37]). The lack of basic pagan elements and sentiment in these letters suggests that Caesarius the Prefect of Constantinople for AD 365 was a Christian. Significantly, there is no mention of any pagan deity by name other than the use of πρὸς Διός as a common oath without religious significance ([38]). In addition, the single references to divinity in the plural and to pagan practice appear in literary allusions that imply no pagan orientation on Caesarius' part ([39]). Caesarius appears in Libanius' letters to be a well-educated individual who though a Christian would appreciate such literary allusions without taking offense ([40]). Libanius

(36) R. DELMAIRE, *Les responsables des finances impériales au bas-empire romain (IVe-VIe s.) : études prosopographiques*, Brussels, 1989, pp. 44-5 n. 73 : "Von Haeling ... pense qu'il est chrétien, ce qui est possible mais pas assuré".

(37) *Letters* 249F (252W), 254F (257W), 764F (674W), 1113F (1284W), 1114F (1285W), 1147F (1132W), 1199F (1092W), 1227F (1330W), 1308F (1385W), 1384F (1442W), 1399F (1454W), 1435F (1064W), 1443F (1070W), 1444F (1480W), 1447F (1483W), 1449F (1485W), 1456F (1492W), 1459F (1494W), and 1468F (1502W). For the text of these letters see J. C. WOLF, ed., *Libanii Sophistae Epistolae*, Amsterdam, 1738, and R. FOERSTER, ed., *Libanii Opera*, I-XII, reprint, Hildesheim, Zurich and New York, 1963-1985, X-XI. For a discussion of these letters see DELMAIRE, pp. 41-5 ; cf. PETIT, *Les fonctionnaires*, pp. 56-7 ; SEECK, *Briefe*, pp. 98-9 ; *PLRE*, I, pp. 168-9 ; DAGRON, *Naissance*, pp. 245-6.

(38) The phrase is found twice in LIBANIUS' letters addressed to Caesarius : ἀλλά, πρὸς Διός, πλείω ποιεῖτε τὰ καλὰ τῶν μὴ τοιούτων (*Let.* 1449. 2F) ; πῶς γὰρ ἀνεκτόν, ὦ πρὸς Διός (*Let.* 1459. 3F).

(39) In *Letter* 1384. 2F LIBANIUS refers to a Pythagorian proverb : ὥς πού τις ἔφη, θεοῖς ἐοικότων ; see WOLF, p. 660 n. 1 to *Letter* 1442. In *Letter* 254. 4F LIBANIUS refers to the Corybantes, the priests of Rhea or Cybele : οὐ τοὺς Κορύβαντας παριὼν ἐν τῇ περὶ τοὺς λόγους μανίᾳ ; see WOLF, p. 126 n. 5 to *Letter* 257.

(40) LIBANIUS reports in *Letter* 1399. 1F that Caesarius pursued rhetoric and other studies at Antioch. In *Letter* 1384. 1F LIBANIUS calls Caesarius a "lover of literature" (ἄνδρα ... φιλόλογον). LIBANIUS' letters to Caesarius show the education of their recipient : *Letter* 249. 1F reproduces an often cited reference to the Spartans visiting Marathon after the battle (cf. WOLF, p. 123 n. 2 to *Letter* 252, and FOERSTER, X, p. 235 n. on HERODOTUS, IV, 120, to *Letter* 249) ; *Letter* 1435. 2F cites a Homeric allusion to Odysseus (WOLF, p. 506 n. 2 to *Letter*

maintains in his letters to Caesarius a religious neutrality appropriate for friendly interactions between a pagan and a Christian. Moreover, Alypius' allegiance to paganism does not necessarily make his brother Caesarius a pagan : amid the religious flux of the middle of the fourth century AD, families were often divided in religious faith ([41]). In fact, the Caesarius of Libanius' letters appears to display the same Christian affiliation as does the Caesarius of Gregory's *Letter* 23.

Other similarities exist between the Caesarius of Gregory's *Letter* 23 and the Caesarius of Libanius' letters. Gregory's description of Caesarius in *Letter* 23 as a great man (αἰτοῦμεν ... παρὰ μεγάλου, 1) is certainly appropriate for Libanius' Caesarius, the Prefect of Constantinople in AD 365 who enjoyed high provincial and palatine posts before his urban prefectship ([42]). Like Gregory's *Letter* 23, Libanius' letters present Caesarius as greatly concerned about his official appointments and the advancement of his career ([43]). In addition, the careful manner with which Gregory' asks Ceasarius to consider his request at the beginning of the letter (συμμετρεῖσθαι δεῖ τῷ αἰτουμένῳ τὴν αἴτησιν, 1) shows his addressee to be a circumspect individual who was careful in the use of his influence to help others as is the Caesarius to whom Libanius writes several letters of intercession ([44]). Gregory's request of Caesarius to help Amphilochius

1064) ; and *Letter* 1443. 1F compliments Caesarius for the literary charm of his letters.

(41) Von Haeling (*supra* n. 33), p. 117 ; cf. A. Chastagnol, *Le sénat romain à l'époque impériale,* Paris, 1992, p. 314 ; J. Gaudemet, *Droit et société aux derniers siècles de l'empire romain,* Paris, 1992, p. 180.

(42) *Supra* n. 27. Caesarius was Vicar of Asia AD 362-363 and *Comes rei privatae* in 364 before he became Prefect of Constantinople in 365.

(43) In *Letter* 1435. 3F Libanius refers to the offices of Caesarius before his prefectship of Constantinople and to the renown he earned for himself by holding them : αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαὶ διὰ πάσης ᾄδονται γῆς καὶ οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἄτοπος ὥστε μὴ ταὐτὰ ψηφίζεσθαι. *Letter* 1399. 1F implies that Caesarius was disappointed with his appointment as *Comes rei privatae*, no doubt because he was expecting a prefectship after his vicariate ; cf. Delmaire, p. 42 n. 70. But Libanius assures Caesarius that the appointment was worthy of him and that he would soon obtain a prefectship : αἵ τε νῦν ἀρχαὶ καρποὶ τῶν μαθημάτων ἐκείνων, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τῆς μεγίστης αὐτίκα ἐπιβήσῃ. This prophecy was shortly fulfilled by Caesarius' appointment as Prefect of Constantinople in AD 365.

(44) Caesarius sometimes performed the benefaction Libanius requested. Thus, Acacius was given an appointment in Cappadocia in AD 363 (cf. *Lets* 1449 and 1174) either as Governor of the province or as *Comes divinarum domorum per Cappadociam :* R. Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées et res privata : l'aerarium*

is therefore a continuation of the petitions for several individuals made by Libanius ([45]). The profiles of the addressee of Gregory's *Letter* 23 and of Libanius' letters to Caesarius are essentially the same, and it is best to consider the recipient of Gregory's *Letter* 23 to be Caesarius, the Prefect of Constantinople in AD 365.

Although the Caesarius of *Letter* 23 appears to be the same individual as the Prefect of Constantinople of AD 365, the question remains whether *Letter* 23 was written before or after the Procopius revolt. It could be argued that Gregory wrote Caesarius as Prefect of Constantinople in AD 365 in Amphilochius' behalf and that he wrote to Sophronius and Themistius after the Procopius affair had disrupted judicial proceedings in Constantinople. But Caesarius does not appear to be in office at the time of *Letter* 23 ; Gregory does not employ exalted titles of address or mention Caesarius' power or authority of office in the letter. Hence, the letter was written after the Procopius revolt, not before it. However, it is difficult to understand how Caesarius could have had any influence in judicial decisions in Constantinople after the disruptions of the Procopius revolt unless he had been returned to the governance of the capital for a time. Furthermore, *Letters* 22, 23 and 24 to Sophronius, Caesarius and Themistius appear to have been written as a series at two different times after the Procopius revolt. The letters to Sophronius and Caesarius seem roughly contemporary by their similar presentation of the issue that concerned Amphilochius in the capital, the first as the sitting Prefect and the second as the previous Prefect. Themistius' letter shows him to be the next Prefect who received the unfinished case from Sophronius. The three years between the end of the Procopius revolt in AD 366 and the earliest

impérial et son administration du IVe au VIe siècle, Rome, 1989, p. 221 ; cf. SEECK, *Briefe*, pp. 36-7 ; *PLRE*, I, p. 7 ; PETIT, *Les fonctionnaires*, p. 24. However, LIBANIUS' letters show that Caesarius did not always receive the orator's petitions so favorably. It took several letters (cf. *Lets* 1459, 1147, 1199, 1308, 1227) to induce Caesarius to underwrite the funds necessary for festivals in Antioch, either because of financial concerns or because the Christian emperor Jovian did not wish to support pagan rituals. Caesarius seems to have been hesitant in doing favors for Libanius who was closely associated with Julian the Apostate, a ruler out of favor with his successors : PETIT, *Les fonctionnaires*, pp. 56-7 ; DELMAIRE, *Les responsables*, pp. 42-4.

(45) Most of Libanius' nineteen letters to Caesarius are recommendations or petitions for favors. In *Letter* 1447F LIBANIUS asks Caesarius to send on a petition in the orator's behalf to the emperor Jovian.

witness to the prefectship of Modestus in the summer of 369 ([46]) provided enough time for the succession of letters and the three prefectships posited above.

Two other considerations also support the return of Caesarius to the rule of the prefecture of Constantinople in AD 366. It has been noted that eastern emperors gave a second prefectship of the city to individuals whose term of office had been disrupted by circumstances beyond their control ([47]). Caesarius' fate during the Procopius insurrection and his return to office in AD 366 could be seen as another example of this policy. Secondly, Themistius mention of Caesarius' surviving the Procopius revolt in *Oration* 7 would be incongruous unless Caesarius were present at the speech given in the Senate of Constantinople as a man of importance in the restored regime of Valens in the city. The modern reader should not expect the orator to refer to Caesarius by name, as late Roman oratory did not name individuals present at a speech ([48]).

A number of questions concern Sophronius' office holding during the late AD 360s ([49]). One consideration is the need to distinguish between offices that Sophronius held in the AD 360s and his mastership of the offices that he began c. 370 and enjoyed for some years after. Ammianus Marcellinus, XXVI, 7. 2, reports that Sophronius was a notary or an imperial secretary at the beginning of the rebellion of Procopius in AD

(46) *Infra* n. 98 and text discussion.

(47) DAGRON, *Naissance*, pp. 274-5. ID., *Naissance*, pp. 243-4, 265, gives as examples Modestus, Prefect AD 362-363 and 369-370 ; Clearchus, Prefect AD 372-373 and 382-384 ; and Monaxius, Prefect AD 408-409 and 414. Riots in Constantinople seem to have ended both Modestus' and Monaxius' first prefectships. Dagron does not specify the reason for Clearchus' early departure from his first urban prefectship, but the reprisals against prominent pagans that accompanied the treason trials at Antioch and elsewhere in the East during the early AD 370s may have been the cause : AM. MAR. XXIX, 1. 5-2. 28 ; cf. MATTHEWS (*supra* n. 4), pp. 222-3.

(48) T. C. BURGESS, *Epideictic Literature*, Chicago, 1902, pp. 136-7.

(49) For Sophronius see SIEVERS (*supra* n. 19), pp. 269-70 ; HAUSER-MEURY, pp. 156-7 ; SEECK, *Briefe, Sophronius 1*, pp. 279-80 ; ID., *Sophronius 3*, *RE*, III, A, 1 (1927), col. 1104 ; E. VENABLES, *Sophronius 4*, *Dictionary of Christian Biography, Sects and Doctrines*, 4, London, 1887, pp. 717-8 ; CANTARELLI (*supra* n. 1), pp. 212-3 ; *PLRE*, I, *Sophronius 3*, pp. 847-8 ; DAGRON, *Naissance*, p. 251 ; PETIT, *Les fonctionnaires, Sophronius 1*, pp. 232-3. Sophronius was a childhood friend of Basil of Caesarea who studied with Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus at Athens.

365. But the flattering titles of address that Gregory uses in *Letter* 22 ([50]) testify to Sophronius' holding a high office in the late AD 360s before his well-known mastership of the offices. It is clear from *Letter* 22 that Sophronius was eastern urban prefect at some time between AD 365 and 369 ; the legal issue in which Amphilochius was involved was in Constantinople, and this city as a Roman capital was independent of the regular administration of the Empire and under the jurisdiction of its own prefect ([51]). A *Magister officiorum* would have no authority to intervene in Amphilochius' suit. Moreover, if Sophronius were *Magister officiorum* at the time of *Letter* 22 he would have been with Valens on the Danube frontier as a member of the imperial *comitatus* rather than in Constantinople ([52]). Hence, any office that Sophronius held in Constantinople or elsewhere in the late AD 360s should not be confused with his later mastership. One such office is an eastern urban prefectship in AD 367 and 368.

However, late Roman office holding shows patterns that were generally followed ([53]), and it was usual for notaries such as Sophronius to take intermediate offices before an urban prefectship ([54]). As a notary

(50) Πρὸς τὴν σὴν μεγαλόνοιαν, 2 and δέομαί σου τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ μεγάλης ψυχῆς, 5. For the use of such titles of address see L. DINNEEN, *Titles of Address in Christian Greek Epistography to 527 AD*, Washington, DC, 1929, esp. pp. 37-47, and H. ZILLIACUS, *Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen und Höflichkeitstiteln im Griechischen*, Helsinki, 1949, esp. pp. 58-81.

(51) JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, I, p. 375 ; DAGRON, *Naissance*, p. 47. An urban prefect acted under the direct authority of the emperor.

(52) The fourth century AD *Magister officiorum* and the other members of the imperial *comitatus* traveled with the emperor : JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, I, p. 366. Valens left Constantinople in the spring of AD 367 for the Danube and his first Gothic war and did not return to the capital until early 370 : AM. MAR. XXVII, 5 ; cf. DAGRON, *Naissance*, p. 83.

(53) JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, I, pp. 377-83 ; R. DELMAIRE, *Les institutions du bas-empire romain, de Constantin à Justinien. I, Les institutions civiles palatines*, Paris, 1995, pp. 11-27, esp. p. 18.

(54) For the notaries see JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, I, pp. 127-8, 572-5 ; DELMAIRE, *Les institutions*, pp. 47-56 ; F. DE MARTINO, *Storia della costituzione romana*, V, Naples, 1967, pp. 239-41 ; W. G. SINNIGEN, *Two Branches of the Late Roman Secret Service*, in *AJPh*, 80 (1959), pp. 238-54 ; C. VOGLER, *Constance II et l'administration impériale*, Strasbourg, 1979, pp. 183-210 *passim*, esp. pp. 192-97 ; H. C. TEITLER, *Notarii and Exceptores : An Inquiry into Role and Significance of Shorthand Writers in the Imperial and Ecclesiastical Bureaucracy of the Roman Empire (from the Early Principate to c. 450 AD)*,

Sophronius enjoyed a privileged position from which he could rise to a prestigious office ([55]). Notaries at this time were appointed to high provincial offices, including Proconsul and Vicar ([56]), and to high positions in the imperial consistory, such as Quaestor of the Palace, Master of the Offices, Count of the Sacred Largesses and Count of the Private Purse or *res privata* ([57]). By the end of the Constantinian dynasty these positions gave their holders senatorial status ([58]). From these positions an individual often rose to an urban or praetorian prefectship and to the highest

Amsterdam, 1985, esp. pp. 54-72 ; W. KUHOFF, *Studien zur zivilen senatorischen Laufbahn im 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr. : Ämter und Amtsinhaber in Clarissimat und Spektabilität*, Frankfurt and Bern, 1983, pp. 195-218.

(55) Cf. the literature cited *supra* n. 54. Notaries comprised an independent cadre of officials who enjoyed a prominent position in Late Roman imperial government because of their closeness to the emperor and their usefulness in establishing imperial power in the Empire. They were originally under Constantine I secretaries of the imperial consistory who by their participation in the workings of high level administration and imperial policy discussions became agents of Constantius II to do tasks of a confidential nature, especially in enforcing the imperial will over the Empire's administration and the Christian church : VOGLER, *Constance* II, pp. 183-97. In addition, in his reign notaries took high position in the provincial and central administration. Although Julian reduced their numbers and influence, Valentinian I and Valens returned to Constantius II's policies of promoting notaries in the imperial administration. Notaries increased in number, influence and prestige under the Theodosian dynasty : TEITLER, pp. 69-71.

(56) KUHOFF, pp. 195-205, esp. p. 197, and pp. 258-9 ; JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, I, p. 573.

(57) JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, I, pp. 127-8, 390 ; DELMAIRE, *Les institutions*, p. 49. For the consistory and its four great ministers see JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, I, pp. 333-41 ; De Martino, V, pp. 216-51 *passim* ; DELMAIRE, *Les institutions*, pp. 29-45 ; VOGLER, *Constance* II, pp. 216-30 ; P. B. WEISS, *Consistorium und comites consistoriani*, Würzburg, 1975, *passim*.

(58) The proconsulate was a traditional senatorial office that survived the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine : JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, I, p. 45 ; M. T. W. ARNHEIM, *The Senatorial Aristocracy in the Later Roman Empire*, Oxford, 1972, p. 43. On the senatorial status of vicars see *infra* n. 70. For the senatorial status of the Quaestor, the Master of the Offices and the two financial Counts see J.-P. CALLU, *La dyarchie constantinide (340-350) : les signes d'évolution*, in *Institutions, société et vie politique* (*supra* n. 32), p. 51 ; CHASTAGNOL, *Le sénat romain*, pp. 259-60 ; ID., *L'évolution politique, sociale et économique du monde romain de Dioclétien à Julien*, Paris, 1982, pp. 193-4, 197, 199.

office of honor, the consulate (59). By the middle of the fourth century AD several *novi homines* originating in the *schola* of notaries reached the highest offices of state (60).

In fact, Sophronius appears to have held a high office before his urban prefectship of AD 367. The evidence for this office is found in Gregory of Nazianzus' *Letter* 21 addressed to Sophronius sometime between AD 366 and 369 (61). It is clear that Sophronius is in high office at the time of the letter. Gregory's use of the exalted titles of address "Your Benevolence" (τὴν σὴν καλοκἀγαθίαν, 2) and "Your Magnanimity" (τῇ σῇ μεγαλονοίᾳ, 4) (62) shows that Sophronius is no longer a notary but held a high office. In addition, Gregory's reference to the high rank (τὴν ἀξίαν, 2) that Sophronius enjoyed at the time of the letter must refer to Sophronius' senatorial status as a *clarissimus*. Hence, Sophronius occupied an office appropriate for a senator when the letter was written ; his earlier position as notary did not confer senatorial status at this time (63).

The office that Sophronius held at the time of *Letter* 21 can be determined by the text of the letter. Gregory of Nazianzus wrote *Letter* 21 to Sophronius in behalf of Nicobulus, a Cappadocian related to Gregory by marriage (64). Hence, Nicobulus most likely was a resident of Cappadocia, and Gregory's report that Nicobulus would tell Sophronius personally his

(59) JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, I, p. 387 ; KUHOFF, pp. 147-8 ; DELMAIRE, *Les responsables*, p. 23 ; VOGLER, *Constance*, pp. 230-6.

(60) The reign of Constantius II provides several examples : Philippus, praetorian prefect AD 344-351 and consul 348 ; Domitianus, praetorian prefect AD 353-354 ; and Flavius Taurus, praetorian prefect AD 355-361 and consul 361. See JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, I, pp. 127-8 ; cf. KUHOFF, pp. 196-9, 414-5.

(61) GALLAY, *Lettres*, I, p. 29.

(62) For καλοκἀγαθία and μεγαλόνοια as titles of office or official status in late antiquity see DINNEEN (*supra* n. 50), pp. 38-40 ; ZILLIACUS (*supra* n. 50), pp. 70, 72.

(63) Notaries were still *perfectissimi* or equestrians in AD 367, the approximate date of this letter : *CTh* VI, 35. 7 ; cf. TEITLER, p. 71 and n. 50, and pp. 255-6. Notaries obtained the rank of *clarissimus* in AD 381 : *CTh* VI, 10. 2-3 ; cf. JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, I, p. 547 ; TEITLER, pp. 70-1 ; DELMAIRE, *Les institutions*, p. 27.

(64) For Nicobulus see HAUSER-MEURY, *Nicobulus I*, pp. 128-31 ; J. LERCHER, *Die Persönlichkeit des heiligen Gregorius von Nazianzus und seine Stellung zur klassischen Bildung aus seinem Briefen*, Innsbruck, 1949, *Nikobulos der Ältere*, pp. 7-13. Nicobulus came from a Cappadocian curial family and c. AD 365 married Gregory's niece Alypiana (GREG. NAZ. *Let.* 12). He was then a soldier for

request (ἐν οἷς αὐτὸς σοῦ δεηθήσεται, 4) suggests that Sophronius was near at hand and most likely a civil official with competency in that province ([65]). However, Sophronius would not have been Governor of Cappadocia, as an individual was regularly prohibited from ruling his home province ([66]). In addition, the governorship of Cappadocia was not a senatorial office at this time ([67]), and Valens was not likely to give Sophronius senatorial status and place him in a post not appropriate for an individual of senatorial rank ([68]). However, Cappadocia was under the jurisdiction of the Vicar of Pontus, an official who had authority over Cappadocia and several nearby provinces ([69]), and the vicariate of Pontus was a senatorial office at this date ([70]). Thus, a *novus homo* and a notary

several years and c. AD 382 became a *praefectus mansionis* or chief of a public post station at Xanxaris near the Cappadocian city of Tyana (ID. *Let.* 126). A number of Gregory's letters were written to Cappadocian officials and bishops in support of lessening Nicobulus' public duties as a *curialis* (*infra* n. 73).

(65) Hence, Sophronius was not Count of the Sacred Largesses at this time as DAGRON, *Naissance*, p. 275, believes. This official would be with the imperial *comitatus* on the Danube and not in or near Cappadocia to hear Nicobulus' personal request.

(66) P. WILLEMS, *Le droit public romain*, 7th ed., Louvain, 1910, p. 606 and legislation cited in n. 2. Hence, Sophronius was not a governor as B. TREUCKER, *Politische und sozialgeschichtliche Studien zu den Basilius-Briefen*, Munich, 1961, p. 51, suggests.

(67) ARNHEIM (*supra* n. 58), p. 94 ; KUHOFF, p. 87. As a *praeses*, the governor of Cappadocia would have the rank of *perfectissimus* which did not give its holder senatorial status : WILLEMS, p. 569 ; A. PIGANIOL, *L'empire chrétien (325-395)*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1972, pp. 351, 390 ; cf. ARNHEIM, p. 11 and n. 2.

(68) Cf. ARNHEIM, p. 11.

(69) A vicar was the deputy of a praetorian prefect and helped him in the civil administration of his prefecture. A vicar had jurisdiction over a territory comprising of several adjacent provinces called a diocese : JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, I, pp. 46-7, 373-375 ; DE MARTINO, V, pp. 268-9. For the Diocese of Pontus see JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, II, p. 1508 s.v. "Pontica, diocese and vicar" ; cf. J. BERNARDI, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze : le théologien et son temps (330-390)*, Paris, 1995, pp. 82-6, esp. p. 82 n. 6.

(70) Vicars gained senatorial status in AD 359 : *CTh* VI, 4. 15 ; cf. JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, I, p. 531. For the vicariate of Pontus as a senatorial office see KUHOFF, pp. 133-4. For the high status of a vicar see DE MARTINO, V, p. 268.

such as Sophronius would become a *clarissimus* on entry into a vicariate if he did not already have that status ([71]).

The letter supports the view that Sophronius was the current Vicar of Pontus. The issue that prompted the letter is not given in the text, as Nicobulus will present it to Sophronius in person. Gregory asks Sophronius to do what he considers to be fitting concerning Nicobulus' petition (καὶ ὅσον τῇ σῇ μεγαλονοίᾳ πρέπειν ὑπολαμβάνεις, 4). It should be remembered that the official concerns of a vicar included the overseeing of public duties and the hearing of cases on appeal from provincial judges or other officials ([72]). Since the majority of Gregory's letters to high officials concerning Nicobulus ask for the reduction of his public duties or for aid in some legal dispute ([73]), this letter should probably be interpreted as having been written for a similar purpose. Nicobulus appears in *Letter* 21 either to be seeking Sophronius' decision as vicar concerning an issue of his public duties in Cappadocia or to be

(71) Valens could have granted Sophronius *clarissimus* status by a codicil before he became a vicar. Actual entry into the senate came with that body's formal acceptance : JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, I, p. 531. For a detailed discussion of the process of the admission of a *novus homo* into a late Roman senate and the emperor's prerogative in the process see P. GARBARINO, *Ricerche sulla procedura di ammissione al senato nel tardo impero romano*, Milan, 1988, pp. 183-362.

(72) JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, I, pp. 374, 450, 481-2 ; DE MARTINO, V, pp. 269-75 ; WILLEMS, p. 602.

(73) In *Letter* 67 GREGORY asks Julian, a tax collector in Cappadocia c. AD 374 or 375, to reduce Nicobulus' tax dues (GALLAY, *Lettres*, I, p. 87 and n. 1). GREGORY's *Letter* 126 requests Olympius, Governor of Cappadocia in AD 382, to remit Nicobulus' responsibility of the post station at Xanxaris, and *Letter* 127 requests Bishop Helladius of Caesarea to intercede with Olympius on this matter (GALLAY, *Lettres*, II, p. 16 and nn. 2-3, and p. 17 and nn. 1 and 3). GREGORY's *Letters* 146-148, written to Governor Olympius and his assessor or successor Asterius, request a reduction of Nicobulus' curial responsibilities at the time (AD 383) and to intercede in a legal dispute concerning some of Nicobulus' slaves (GALLAY, *Lettres*, II, pp. 37-41, and p. 154 n. 1 to p. 39). See T. KOPEČEK, *Curial Displacements and Flight in Later Fourth Century Cappadocia*, in *Historia*, 23, 1974, pp. 334-7, for a discussion of the legal issues concerning *Letters* 126-127 and 146-148. In *Letter* 224 GREGORY asks Africanus, either Vicar of Pontus, Governor of Cappadocia or *Comes divinae domus* in the latter province, to intercede in Nicobulus' behalf in a dispute with some merchants that took place sometime before AD 383 (GALLAY, *Lettres* II, pp. 117-9, and p. 168 n. 2 to p. 117).

appealing a ruling concerning him made by a judge, another official or a city council in Cappadocia to Sophronius as that province's vicar. Since the Late Roman vicar toured his diocese ([74]), Sophronius could well have been in or near enough to Cappadocia to hear a personal request of Nicobulus.

Sophronius was therefore Vicar of Pontus before he was Prefect of Constantinople. Such a conclusion is in line with contemporary patterns of office holding which permitted a notary such as Sophronius to proceed through a vicariate to an urban prefectship ([75]). It is also substantiated by Gregory's statement in *Letter* 21 that Sophronius was "constantly advancing to the highest offices" (κἂν ἀεὶ προΐῃς ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν, 2). Gregory was familiar with contemporary practices of promotion within the imperial hierarchy from observing his brother Caesarius' career ([76]), and he realized that Sophronius' vicariate was in advance of a prefectship that Sophronius obtained by his appointment to govern the urban prefecture of Constantinople in AD 367.

There is also a historical explanation for Sophronius' appointment as Vicar of Pontus and later as Prefect of Constantinople. Valens' high regard for Sophronius and his appointing Sophronius to several high positions during his reign derive from a singular demonstration of loyalty to Valens' regime by Sophronius in the autumn of AD 365. Stationed as a notary in or near the eastern capital at the beginning of the Procopius rebellion in that city, Sophronius fled the insurrection and reported its occurence to Valens traveling in Cappadocia (Am. Mar. XXVI, 7. 2). This action gave Valens his first opportunity to respond to the revolt and a reason to reward Sophronius with a high office at the appropriate time. It should be remembered that portions of the Diocese of Pontus fell to Procopius during his insurrection in AD 365 and 366 ([77]). It appears that

(74) De Martino, V, p. 271.

(75) *Supra* nn. 56-9 and text discussion. The reconstruction of Sophronius' early career as notary, AD 365 ; Vicar of Pontus, AD 366 ; and Prefect of Constantinople, AD 367, is similar to the career of Caesarius : Vicar of Asia, AD 362-363 ; *Comes rei privatae*, AD 363-364 ; and Prefect of Constantinople, AD 365 ; cf. *supra* n. 27, 42.

(76) In his funeral oration for his brother Gregory says that Valens appointed Caesarius to the position of diocesan treasurer of Bithynia "as a prelude to higher offices" (*Or.* 7, 15).

(77) Bithynia at least fell to Procopius : Am. Mar. XXVI, 8. 1-3 ; Zos. IV, 6. 4. How much territory Valens lost to the usurper in the Diocese of Pontus is not

Valens appointed Sophronius Vicar of Pontus as a partisan of proven loyalty to maintain his authority in the diocese before his defeat of Procopius in May AD 366 or to reinstate his regime in northern Asia Minor after the rebellion was put down ([78]). Hence, Sophronius' vicariate should be dated to the period between his joining Valens in the autumn of AD 365 and his becoming Prefect of Constantinople in 367. Although a precise date is not possible from available evidence ([79]), Sophronius' vicariate and Gregory of Nazianzus' *Letter* 21 should probably be dated to AD 366. Valens' continued reliance on Sophronius' loyalty, however, permits the establishment of an approximate date for Sophronius' entry into his urban prefectship of AD 367. Valens' Gothic campaign of that year required his presence on the Danube frontier and the appointment of a trustworthy individual to rule the eastern capital in his absence. Thus, it is best to date the beginning of Sophronius' urban prefectship of AD 367 to around the time Valens left the capital for the Danube, probably in April ([80]).

One concern about the posited urban prefectship of Themistius in AD 368 and early 369 is the presence of the orator in the Danube region during Valens' Gothic campaign of AD 367 to 369. This is of importance because a prefect of a Roman capital would not normally leave his city

clear. But Procopius' agents were at work throughout Asia Minor : Am. Mar. XXVI, 8. 14. Much of the Diocese of Asia was also lost to the usurper who named his own Proconsul of Asia : Am. Mar. XXVI, 8. 5-12 ; Zos. IV, 6. 5 ; cf. Grattarola, *Aevum*, 60 (1986), pp. 96-9.

(78) The Procopius rebellion actually ended in Bithynia and the Diocese of Pontus. After Procopius' death his relative Marcellus, a military commander at Nicaea, continued the revolt for a short time in that city and in Chalcedon : Am. Mar. XXVI, 10. 1-5 ; Zos. IV, 8. 3 ; cf. Grattarola, *Aevum*, 60 (1986), p. 101.

(79) The other letters of Gregory attributed to the late AD 360s are not helpful as witnesses to Sophronius' vicariate. Gregory sent his *Letter* 29 to Sophronius in AD 369 to ask his aid in settling his brother's estate (Gallay, *Lettres*, I, p. 123 n. 4 to p. 35). *Letter* 37, a letter of recommendation for the rhetor Eudoxius, should be dated to the early AD 380s when Gregory wrote other individuals at Constantinople on Eudoxius' behalf (Hauser-Meury, pp. 68, 160 *contra* Gallay, *Lettres*, I, p. 29 n. 1, and p. 46 n. 2). Gregory's *Letter* 39 also seems misdated to the AD 360s ; as a letter of recommendation it seems more appropriately written to Sophronius as *Magister officiorum* or head of the central government in the AD 370s (*contra* Gallay, *Lettres*, I, p. 48 n. 1).

(80) Laws record Valens' presence on the Danube in early May of AD 367 : Dagron, *Naissance*, p. 83. Hence, the emperor must have set out from Constantinople in the previous month.

during his term of office ([81]), and any travel that Themistius did out of Constantinople would imply that he was not at that time Prefect of the city. Scholars posit several trips by Themistius to the Danube during these years. It is generally agreed that Themistius attended Valens' *vicennalia* in March of AD 368 at Marcianopolis and delivered his *Oration* 8 at those festivities held while the imperial party was in winter quarters ([82]). In fact, Themistius claims to be a witness to the proceedings : καὶ πρώην εἶδον ἐγὼ στρατιὰν μᾶλλον χοροῦ παντὸς ἠσκημένην (116a). Scholars also maintain that Themistius led senatorial delegations to Valens on the Danube frontier during the summers of AD 368 and 369 on the basis of Themistius' presentation of activities and events concerning Valens' campaign of 368 and his peace with the Goths late in 369 at Noviodunum in his *Oration* 10 delivered at Constantinople in early 370 ([83]). Commentators are divided on whether Themistius gave *Oration* 9 honoring Valens' son Valentinian Galates' consulship of AD 369 in person at Marcianopolis where the imperial party was wintering ([84]) or whether Themistius sent the oration to Marcianopolis ([85]). Those who believe that Themistius gave the speech in person cite passages from both *Orations* 9 and 10 in support of their opinion ([86]).

(81) J. F. MATTHEWS, *The Letters of Symmachus*, in *Latin Literature of the Fourth Century*, J. W. BINNS, ed., London and Boston, 1974, pp. 76-7.

(82) W. STEGEMANN, *Themistios 2*, *RE*, V, A, 2 (1934), cols 1659-60 ; H. SCHOLZE, *De temporibus librorum Themistii*, Göttingen, 1911, pp. 29-36 ; DAGRON, *TM*, 3 (1968), p. 21 ; W. PORTMANN, *Geschichte in der spätantiken Panegyrik*, Frankfurt and New York, 1988, pp. 168, 322 ; L. J. DALY, *Themistius' Refusal of a Magistracy (Or. 34, cc. XIII-XV)*, in *Byz.*, 53 (1983), p. 196 n. 83 ; VANDERSPOEL, pp. 168, 251 ; N. E. LENSKI, *Valens and the Fourth Century Empire* (dissertation, Princeton U.), Princeton, 1995, p. 214 ; MAISANO (*supra* n. 28), p. 363 ; LEPPIN and PORTMANN, (*supra*, n. 29), pp. 150, 313.

(83) SCHOLZE, pp. 37-8 ; STEGEMANN, *RE*, V, A, 2 (1934), col. 1660 ; V. VELKOV, *Roman Cities in Bulgaria : Collected Studies*, Amsterdam, 1980, pp. 177-9 ; VANDERSPOEL, pp. 173-6 ; SEECK, *Briefe*, p. 302 ; LENSKI, p. 221 ; MAISANO, p. 429.

(84) VELKOV, pp. 176-7 ; LENSKI, pp. 217-8 and n. 31 ; MAISANO, p. 407 ; DALY, *Byz.*, 53 (1983), p. 196 n. 83 ; PORTMANN, pp. 171, 323 ; LEPPIN and PORTMANN, pp. 15, 173 n. 4, and p. 313.

(85) SCHOLZE, p. 36 ; STEGEMANN, *RE*, V, A, 2 (1934), col. 1660 ; VANDERSPOEL, p. 172 ; cf. DAGRON, *TM*, 3 (1968), pp. 21-2.

(86) For the text of *Orations* 8, 9 and 10 see DOWNEY and NORMAN (*supra* n. 4), I, pp. 153-80 : *Oration* 8 ; pp. 181-94 : *Oration* 9 ; pp. 195-214 : *Oration* 10.

However, a critical reading of the passages cited for trips north by Themistius in the summer of AD 368 and in January 369 does not sustain the view that Themistius was on the Danube frontier at those times. The peace negotiations and other activities that Themistius says that he saw in *Oration* 10 refer to events of AD 369 and not 368. The orator expressly says that he was an envoy from the eastern senate to Noviodunum (132c), that he witnessed some of the negotiations with the enemy (ἐγὼ ... τεθέαμαι ... στρατηγὸν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιτάττοντα Σκυθῶν βασιλεῦσι, 132d-133a), that his oratory convinced the emperor to settle peaceably with the Goths (133b), and that he saw the boat on which the peace agreement between Valens and the Gothic commander Athanaric was made (ἔγωγε ... ἐγενόμην αὐτόπτης, 132d). These reports are commonly accepted as factual and are dated to the latter half of AD 369 ([87]).

But Themistius also gives a lengthy account in *Oration* 10 of the fortifications and other defense projects that were done in Dobrudja region in the summer of AD 368 when the flooding Danube did not permit Roman military operations north of the river (135d-138b) ([88]). More importantly, he claims that he was an eyewitness to their construction : ἐρῶ δὲ οὐκ ἀκοὴν ἀλλοτρίαν, ἀλλ' ὧν αὐτὸς γέγονα θεατής (136d). This report has encouraged some scholars to assert that Themistius traveled with the imperial party in that region during the summer of AD 368 ([89]). However, although the orator alludes to the Danube flood of AD 368 (133b), Themistius does not say that he actually witnessed this flood nor does he associate the building of projects that he saw in the Dobrudja region with it. Themistius also describes (138b-d) similar Roman military defense preparations in the region of Scythia Minor ([90]), again without saying

(87) Cf. VANDERSPOEL, p. 173 ; VELKOV, pp. 177-9 ; P. HEATHER and J. MATTHEWS, *The Goths in the Fourth Century*, Liverpool, 1991, pp. 40-1 and notes to the text.

(88) HEATHER and MATTHEWS, p. 45 n. 101 ; C. PATSCH, *Beiträge zu Völkerkunde von Südosteuropa*, III. *Die Völkerbewegung an der unteren Donau in der Zeit von Diokletian bis Heraklius*, I Teil : *Bis zur Abwanderung der Goten und Taifalen aus Transdanuvien*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, 208. 2 (1928), pp. 48-50 ; VELKOV, p. 176 ; cf. AM. MAR. XXVII, 5. 5.

(89) VELKOV, p. 176 ; PATSCH (*supra* n. 88), p. 48 and n. 1.

(90) C. C. PETOLESCU, *L'apport de la province de Pannonia Secunda à la fortification de la rive septentrionale du Danube en Dacia Ripensis*, in *Revue des Études sud-est-européennes*, 18 (1980), p. 117.

which summer he saw them. But the proximity of both the Dobrudja region and Scythia Minor to Noviodunum and Istros ([91]) where the senatorial embassy visited the imperial party in the summer of AD 369 suggests that Themistius saw the building projects that he describes in *Oration* 10 during the embassy of 369 ([92]). In fact, no passage in *Oration* 10 clearly shows Themistius' presence on the northern frontier during the summer of AD 368.

In addition, the passages of *Orations* 9 and 10 thought by some scholars to show Themistius' presence at Marcianopolis in early January AD 369 do not substantiate this interpretation. One such passage is the scene in Themistius' *Oration* 9 of the young prince Galates conducting military exercises with Valens in mid-winter : συστρατεύῃ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ συστρατηγεῖς, καὶ τρέφει σε ... ἐπὶ τῷ Ἴστρῳ καὶ τοῖς χειμῶσι τοῖς Σκυθικοῖς τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ σιτία σιτούμενον καὶ ποτὰ πίνοντα τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις (121b) ([93]). However, Themistius does not say that he actually saw this performance. In fact, the presentation of the two-year old boy doing such exercises is a rhetorical fiction ; it is unlikely that Valens would expose his only son and heir to the dangers of the weather and the enemy in such a fashion ([94]). Themistius presents here the *typos* of the young ideal ruler preparing himself for his future royal office by

(91) See map P. J. HEATHER, *Goths and Romans, 332-489*, Oxford, 1991, p. 85.

(92) Some of THEMISTIUS' descriptions of or allusions to Roman frontier defenses and other military operations in *Oration* 10 could also derive from official reports or oral information derived from the imperial entourage. The reference to two crossings of the Danube by the Roman army (132c) is probably an example : the first crossing was in the summer of AD 367 (cf. AM. MAR. XXVII, 5. 2) when Themistius was not on the Danube, and Themistius does not say that he actually saw the second one in AD 369 (cf. AM. MAR. XXVII, 5. 6). Hence, there is no assurance that Themistius witnessed the second crossing as VELKOV, p. 177, insists or that Themistius was on campaign with Valens as PETOLESCU, *Revue des Études sud-est-européennes*, 18 (1980), p. 117, states. Against both assertions is THEMISTIUS' report that he did not witness any battle between Romans and Goths : ἐγὼ παρατάξεις μὲν οὐ τεθέαμαι Σκυθικάς (132d-133a). MAISANO, p. 438 n. 17, believes that information about negotiations with the Goths could also come from the imperial party rather than from Themistius' actual participation in them.

(93) PATSCH (*supra* n. 88), p. 51 n. 1 ; VELKOV, p. 177 n. 20 ; LENSKI, pp. 217-8 ; LEPPIN and PORTMANN, p. 173 n. 4, and p. 175 n. 12.

(94) Galates was a sickly boy who died at age four in AD 370 : SOC. IV, 26 ; SOZ. VI, 16 ; THEOD. IV, 16 ; cf. *PLRE*, I, *Valentinianus Galates*, p. 381.

undertaking the proper military training (95). Moreover, Themistius' remark in *Oration* 10 that Valens customarily listened to philosophers in the winter (σὺ δὲ προσκαλεῖς τοὺς φιλοσόφους ... μένεις ἀνάγκῃ χειμερίζεις μετὰ τῶν λόγων, 130a) suggests to some scholars that Themistius was among the philosophers lecturing the emperor during the consular festivities of January 1, AD 369 (96). But Themistius does not report in *Oration* 10 that he was among those philosophers. The presentation of Valens listening to philosophers in winter is another rhetorical fiction : Valens was a camp soldier who did not have an interest in or the preparation for philosophical discussions or the time for such activities amid his concerns for his military and diplomatic campaigns. There is no evidence in *Orations* 9 or 10 that Themistius was at the Danube frontier in late December AD 368 or early January 369. Hence, it is best to accept only two trips by Themistius to the Danube regions during Valens' first Gothic war, in March AD 368 and the summer of 369 (97). Thus, the prefectship posited by this study for Themistius during the summer, fall and early winter of AD 368 is not undermined by the presence of Themistius on the Danube.

Yet *Oration* 9 is a witness to the continuation of Themistius' prefectship into AD 369. Themistius' duties as Prefect of Constantinople did not permit his presence at the New Year's festivities at Marcianopolis of AD 369. The terminus of Themistius' term as Prefect is difficult to determine. The earliest dated reference to Domitius Modestus as the next Prefect of Constantinople is August 1, AD 369 (98). Hence, Themistius left office at

(95) MENANDER RHETOR, II, 371-372, suggests that the orator discuss the early preparation and education of his subject and that he include military training if such coverage is appropriate : *Menander Rhetor,* D. A. RUSSELL and N. G. WILSON, eds and trs, Oxford 1981, p. 82. A similar premise in *Oration 9* is THEMISTIUS' taking charge of Galates' education, which includes both literature and philosophy (121d-124b). Such instruction in the liberal arts is a continuation of the theme of the proper preparation of the ideal ruler : MENANDER RHETOR, II, 371-372.

(96) VELKOV, p. 177 ; HEATHER and MATTHEWS, pp. 15-6.

(97) This is also the judgement of VANDERSPOEL, p. 172.

(98) DAGRON, *Naissance*, p. 246 ; PETIT, *Les fonctionnaires,* pp. 169-70 ; cf. SIEVERS, p. 231 ; SEECK, *Briefe,* p. 216 ; CANTARELLI (*supra* n. 1), pp. 211-2. Domitius is referred to as p.p. or praetorian prefect in a law dated August 1, AD 370 : *CTh* XI, 30. 35. But the law was given at Marcianopolis ; hence, it cannot refer to Domitius as Prefect of the East since he did not take that office until after

some time between January and July of that year. Considering that the normal term of office for eastern urban prefects was a year ([99]) and that Modestus became Praetorian Prefect early in AD 370 ([100]), Modestus probably succeeded Themistius as Prefect of Constantinople in March or April of AD 369. This reconstruction would give both Themistius and Modestus a year's term of office as Prefect of the eastern capital and would permit Themistius to make his summer visit to the Danube later in AD 369.

This conclusion also helps establish a tentative dating of the succession of the three prefectships proposed in this study. Caesarius was returned to the administration of the eastern urban prefecture some time after Valens recovered the capital following the defeat of Procopius, in late autumn of AD 366 or at least by the time of Themistius' *Oration* 7. Sophronius replaced Caesarius in early AD 367 when Valens left the capital for his Gothic campaign. Themistius succeeded Sophronius in April of AD 368 after he returned from Valens' *vicennalia* at Marcianopolis and stayed in office until Modestus replaced him in the spring of 369.

One problem concerning the proper historical interpretation of *Letters* 21-24 of Gregory of Nazianzus is the manuscript notes to the titles of these letters that ascribe an office to the addressee or otherwise identify him. These often contradict each other or report incorrect information. The most important discrepancy in the manuscript notes concerns Sophronius' *Letters* 21 and 22. Some manuscripts identify him as ὕπαρχος or an urban prefect while other manuscripts report him to be a μάγιστρος or a master of the offices at the time of the letters ([101]). The

Valens returned to Constantinople from the Danube front in early AD 370 : DAGRON, *Naissance*, p. 83. Since the *Consularia Constantinopolitana* reports that Domitius was Prefect of Constantinople under the consuls of AD 369 (MOMMSEN, *Chronica minora*, I, p. 241), the law must designate Domitius as urban prefect in 369 : SEECK, *Regesten*, p. 71. The subscription p.p. referring to a praetorian prefect was often confused with p.u. which designated an urban prefect in the transmission of laws in antiquity : ID, *Regesten*, pp. 113-5 ; BAGNALL *et al.* (*supra* n. 26), p. 72.

(99) DAGRON, *Naissance*, p. 284.

(100) ZOSIMUS, IV, 11. 4, states that Valens nominated Modestus as Prefect of the East on his return to Constantinople after he concluded his first Gothic war. Valens' return to Constantinople is dated March of AD 370 : SEECK, *Regesten*, p. 239 ; DAGRON, *Naissance*, p. 246 ; BARNES (*supra* n. 8), p. 251.

(101) GALLAY, *Lettres*, I, pp. 29, 30 : Σωφρονίῳ ὑπάρχῳ ; Σωφρονίῳ μαγίστρῳ.

same manuscript titles appear in Gregory's letters written to Sophronius around the time he was Master of Offices in the AD 370s (*Lets* 29, 39) ([102]) or around the time he was Prefect of Constantinople in AD 382 (*Lets* 37, 93, 135) ([103]). In addition, the manuscript titles of *Letter* 23 to Caesarius sometimes report him to be Gregory's younger brother of the same name ([104]). Modern observers generally discern that the Caesarius of *Letter* 23 is not Gregory's brother, but the mistake can still be found ([105]). Other manuscript notes identify Themistius as either ἔπαρχος or an urban prefect or ἔπαρχος τῶν πραιτωρίων or a praetorian prefect ([106]). This discrepancy no doubt derives from an original title of ἔπαρχος that was reproduced as urban or praetorian prefect by later editors or copyists according to their understanding of the term ([107]).

These notes are generally thought to be errors of the early editors of Gregory's letters or of later copyists. Commentators believe that the titles of Sophronius' letters confuse his mastership of the offices that he held in the AD 370s with his urban prefectship of 382 ([108]) and that the titles of

(102) GALLAY, *Lettres*, I, pp. 35, 48.

(103) GALLAY, *Lettres*, I, pp. 46, 113, and II, p. 23.

(104) GALLAY, *Lettres*, I, p. 31 : Καισαρίῳ ἀδελφῷ.

(105) C. G. BROWNE and J. E. SWALLOW, trs, *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, Second Series, VII, *Saint Cyril of Jerusalem and Saint Gregory Nazianzen*, reprint, Grand Rapids, Mi., 1994, p. 458.

(106) GALLAY, *Lettres*, I, p. 32 : Θεμιστίῳ ἐπάρχῳ, Θεμ. ἐπ. πραιτωρίων or Θεμ. ἐπ. πραιτ. παραθετική.

(107) DAGRON, *Naissance*, p. 287. The lack of a clear distinction between the titles of ἔπαρχος and ἔπαρχος τῶν πραιτωρίων is evident in JOHN LYDUS' *De Magisteribus* (6th century AD) : C. N. TSIRPANLIS, *John Lydos on the Imperial Administration*, in *Byz.*, 44 (1974), p. 494. However, ἔπαρχος was used alone for a praetorian prefect already by Early and Middle Imperial Greek writers such as PLUTARCH, HERODIAN and DIO CASSIUS : H. J. MASON, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions*, Toronto, 1974, p. 139.

(108) SIEVERS, p. 270 ; GALLAY, *Lettres*, I, p. 29 n. 1 ; HAUSER-MEURY, p. 157 n. 326 ; M. FORLIN PATRUCCO, ed. and tr., *Basilio di Cesare, Le lettere*, I, Torino, 1983, p. 387 ; R. POUCHET, *Basile le Grand et son univers d'amis après sa correspondance*, Rome, 1992, p. 306 n. 4 ; cf G. RAUSCHEN, *Jahrbücher der christlichen Kirche unter dem Kaiser Theodosius dem Grossen*, Fribourg, 1897, p. 123 n. 6, and p. 138 ; SEECK, *Briefe*, pp. 279-80 ; *PLRE*, I, p. 847 ; DAGRON, *Naissance*, p. 251 n. 1 ; M. CLAUSS, *Der Magister Officiorum in der Spätantike (4.-6. Jahrhundert)*, Munich, 1980, pp. 190-1 ; B. GAIN, *L'église de Cappadoce au IVe siècle d'après la correspondance de Basile de Césarée (330-379)*, Rome, 1985, p. 293 n. 9.

Themistius' letter refer to his urban prefectship of 384 ([109]). However, some observers believe that Sophronius was Prefect of Constantinople at the times of *Letters* 21, 22 and 29 ([110]). Confusion caused by the manuscript notes to the titles of these letters have impeded the recognition of the urban prefectships and a vicariate that the texts of these letters show their addressees to have held in the late AD 360s. No modern writer clearly argues any such office for the three individuals at the times that the letters were written ([111]).

However, the difficulties concerning the manuscript titles of Gregory's letters can be solved by an examination of the manuscript tradition of Gregory's letters ([112]). On a request of a relative Gregory published an edition of his letters c. AD 385 ([113]). A second edition of his letters was produced by his literary heir(s) after his death c. AD 390 that comprised Gregory's original edition, letters that Gregory wrote after he published his edition, and letters that Gregory wrote before his edition but did not include in it ([114]). However, the process of editing Gregory's letters continued, as later editors separately added to the "second edition" other letters of Gregory not included in it to make various "third editions" ([115]).

(109) BERNARDI (*supra* n. 69), p. 256 n. 54 ; cf. HAUSER-MEURY, p. 160 n. 339.

(110) A. BENOÎT, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze : sa vie, ses œuvres et son époque,* Marseille, 1876, pp. 210, 213, 238 : *Letters* 21, 22, 29 ; LERCHER (*supra* n. 64), pp. 10, 194-195 : *Letter* 21, and pp. 27-8 : *Letter* 29 ; P. GALLAY, *La vie de saint Grégoire de Nazianze,* Paris and Lyon, 1943, p. 90 : *Letter* 29 ; ID., *Briefe*, p. XVI : *Let.* 22 ; *PG*, 37, cols 55-8 : *Letters* 21, 22, and cols 63-4 : *Letter* 29 ; TILLEMONT, *Mémoires*, IX, p. 378 : *Letter* 29 ; CANTARELLI (*supra* n. 1), pp. 212-3 : *Letter* 29.

(111) The only commentator who posits offices for the three men is BENOÎT (*supra* n. 110), p. 213. Benoît says that Gregory sent *Letters* 22, 23 and 24 to Sophronius, Caesarius and Themistius as successive Prefects of Constantinople, but he gives no textual discussion or any chronological designations to these prefectships other than that they belong to the late AD 360s. BENOÎT, p. 212 n. 1, considers the Caesarius of *Letter* 23 to be a Christian, but not Gregory's brother.

(112) P. GALLAY, *Les manuscrits des lettres de saint Grégorie de Nazianze,* Paris, 1957 ; ID., *Lettres*, I, pp. XXI-XXXVII.

(113) GALLAY, *Les manuscrits*, pp. 9-13 ; ID., *Lettres,* I, pp. XXI-XXII.

(114) GALLAY, *Les manuscrits*, p. 13 ; ID., *Lettres*, I, p. XXII.

(115) GALLAY, *Les manuscrits*, pp. 13-4 ; ID., *Lettres*, I, pp. XXII-XXIII. This rapid re-editing of Gregory's letters was not unusual in the dissemination of Patristic literature : G. BARDY, *Éditions et rééditions d'ouvrages patristiques,* in *Revue Bénédictine,* 47 (1935), pp. 356-80, esp. pp. 375-80 ; cf. P. E. ARNS, *La technique du livre d'après saint Jérôme,* Paris, 1953, pp. 84-9, 129-72 ; J. DE GHELLINCK, *Patristique et moyen âge*, II, Brussels and Paris, 1961, pp. 181-377.

Two of these "third editions" appear to be the ancestors of the surviving manuscript families of Gregory's letters ([116]).

Since the original titles of Gregory's letters would only have recorded the name of the recipient ([117]), the notes and other descriptive information about the addressees were most likely added by the compilers of the "second edition" or the "third editions". These individuals worked according to their recollection of or access to information about the careers of the individuals addressed in Gregory's letters. Hence, even the "third edition" editors would have worked fairly soon after Gregory's death to have memories about or information concerning Gregory's addressees ([118]). But their memories of or information about these individuals had faded or was incomplete within a few decades after Gregory's death. The fact that early editors assigned no office to Caesarius or designated him as Gregory's brother in the manuscript notes to *Letters* 23 suggests that they were not familiar with prominent individuals of the late AD 360s and therefore were not aware of Sophronius or Themistius' offices during the same years. These editors probably remembered Sophronius as Master of the Offices in the AD 370s or Sophronius and Themistius as Prefects of

(116) From GALLAY'S *stemma* for the manuscript tradition of Gregory's letters (*Les manuscrits*, pp. 96-7 ; *Lettres*, I, p. XXXIV) it appears that an ancient editor is responsible for the u and the v and the d and the f families and another for the g and h families. The various manuscript families are distinguished by the sequence of letters, by the presence or absence of certain letters and by variant readings : GALLAY, *Les manuscrits*, pp. 15-6 ; ID., *Lettres*, I, pp. XXIV-XXV. For the six manuscript families see ID., *Les manuscrits*, pp. 15-103 ; ID., *Lettres*, I, pp. XXIV-XXXVII.

(117) GALLAY, *Lettres*, I, p. 29 n. 1 ; cf. G. PRZYCHOCKI, *De Gregorii Nazianzeni epistulis : quaestiones selectae*, Cracow, 1912, pp. 136-8. As Libanius, Gregory avoided the use of official titles in his letters for stylistic reasons : J. H. W. G. LIEBESCHUETZ, *Antioch : City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire*, Oxford, 1972, p. 19.

(118) The text and titles of two of GREGORY'S letters, *Letters* 80 and 90, survive in the *Papyrus graecus Vindobonensis 29788* from the late fifth century AD. The titles show almost the same form as those in medieval manuscripts (*Let.* 80 : Γρηγορίου ἐπισκόπου εἰς Φιλάγριον for mediaeval Φιλαγρίῳ ; *Let.* 80 : Ἀνυσίῳ for medieval Ἀνυσίῳ) ; hence, the traditional titles had been added within a century of Gregory's death. The first two words of the title to *Letter* 80 in the Vienna papyrus clearly show editorial work. See GALLAY, *Les manuscrits*, pp. 82-3 ; H. GERSTINGER, *Pamprepios von Panopolis*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, 208. 3 (1928), pp. 87-91.

Constantinople in the 380s. One early editor ([119]) knew Sophronius as an urban prefect while another ([120]) recalled him as a master of the offices ; each editor ascribed that office to all Gregory's letters to Sophronius regardless of the post he held at the time of the letter ([121]). The editor who remembered Sophronius as a master of the offices also seems to have known Themistius as an urban prefect and ascribed that office to *Letter* 24 ([122]).

These observations provide the following conclusions about the usefulness of the manuscript notes to Gregory's letters under consideration. Although they are sometimes correct (e.g. Sophronius was urban prefect at the time of *Letter* 22), the notes are not helpful in identifying the offices Sophronius held in the AD 360s because they are not the result of a systematic examination of his career. Sophronius' positions during those years can only be determined by the text of Gregory's letters and by knowledge of the patterns of late Roman office holding. However, the designation of Themistius as ἔπαρχος is probably another instance of the confusion of Themistius' prefectship under Valens for the one he held under Theodosius I that is also found in the notes to Poem XI, 292, in the *Greek Anthology*. The manuscript notes to Gregory's *Letter* 24 and to Poem XI, 292, of the *Greek Anthology* and their transmission during the Middle Ages and into the modern world have been the only witnesses to Themistius' prefectship of AD 368 that scholars have not properly investigated or interpreted.

A few historical issues remain. One is whether the projected terms of the three individuals identified as Prefects of Constantinople are in accord with late fourth century AD practices of office holding. A prefectship of

(119) The editor of the edition from which the u and v and the d and f manuscript families are derived.

(120) The editor of the edition from which the g and h manuscript families descend.

(121) This is similar to the opinion of TREUCKER (*supra* n. 66), p. 47, that the editor who added ὕπαρχος to the titles of Gregory's letters to Sophronius ascribed to them the highest office that Sophronius held in his career. But Treucker does not take into consideration the other editor who knew Sophronius as a master of the offices and who likewise added that title to all of Gregory's letters to Sophronius in his edition.

(122) The editor of the edition that was the ancestor of the g and h families, as the g family carries notes identifying Sophronius as a *magister officiorum* and Themistius as an urban prefect.

Constantinople for Caesarius, Sophronius and Themistius as reconstructed by the present study are in line with contemporary patterns of holding that office ([123]). The full term of Ceasarius before his imprisonment during the Procopius rebellion and after his presumed restoration to office and the postulated prefectships of Sophronius and Themistius, a year, matches the general term that prefects held that office in Constantinople ([124]). Moreover, if a prefectship of the eastern capital is accepted for Themistius in AD 362, a second term of that office within the 360s would not have been unusual ; Domitius Modestus became Prefect of Constantinople late in AD 362 and again in 369 ([125]). Other individuals held that office twice in the first fifty years of its existence : Clearchus, who served Valens and Theodosius I as eastern urban prefect ([126]), and Flavius Monaxius, who enjoyed a second term as Prefect of Constantinople within a few years of his first in the early fifth century AD ([127]). Sophronius would be another example, as he had a second term as eastern urban prefect in AD 382 under Theodosius ([128]). It should be noted that several individuals served twice as western urban prefects from the middle of the fourth century to the early decades of the fifth century AD ([129]). Eastern urban prefectships for Themistius in the reigns of Julian

(123) Cf. DAGRON, *Naissance*, pp. 274-86.

(124) DAGRON, *Naissance*, p. 284 ; cf. CHASTAGNOL, *La préfecture urbaine*, pp. 187-8 ; JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, I, p. 380. Caesarius' term is a little uncertain. He became Prefect of Constantinople sometime between April and the Procopius revolt in late September AD 364 : DELMAIRE, *Les responsables*, p. 43. But he could well have served five or six months as Prefect before his imprisonment by Procopius. If so, the posited six months of his reinstated term as Prefect, November AD 366 to April 367, would give him the usual year of office.

(125) DAGRON, *Naissance*, pp. 242-4, 246-7, 275, 278 ; cf. SEECK, *Briefe*, pp. 215-6.

(126) Clearchus was eastern urban prefect AD 372-373 and 382-384 : DAGRON, *Naissance*, pp. 247-9, 252, 275, 280 ; SEECK, *Klearchos 7*, *RE*, XI, 1 (1921), col. 580 ; ID., *Briefe*, *Clearchus I*, p. 109 ; *PLRE*, I, *Clearchus I*, p. 212.

(127) Monaxius was eastern urban prefect AD 408-409 and 414 : DAGRON, *Naissance*, pp. 264-6, 275, 280.

(128) GALLAY, *Vie*, p. 59 n. 3, and p. 219 ; ID., *Lettres*, I, p. 113 (cf. *Let.* 93) ; II, p. 23 (cf. *Let.* 135) ; cf. *PLRE*, I, p. 848.

(129) *PLRE*, I, pp. 1054-6 ; A. CHASTAGNOL, *Les fastes de la préfecture de Rome au bas-empire*, Paris, 1962, pp. 346-7 ; JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, I, p. 380. L. Aradius Valerius Proculus Populonius was Prefect of Rome AD 337-338 and 351-352 : CHASTAGNOL, *Les fastes*, pp. 96-102, 134 ; Fabius Titianus was

and Valens would mean that Themistius' prefectship under Theodosius was his third occupancy of that magistracy, a singular instance in the first century of that office ([130]). However, a few individuals were Prefects of Rome three times in their career ([131]). One of the interests of the three prefectships under discussion is that they are examples of reiterated offices in the Late Empire ([132]).

A historical context for the postulated prefectships can also be established. These prefectships derive their existence from the loyalty of the three individuals to Valens during the Procopius rebellion ([133]) and to

Prefect of Rome AD 339-341 and 350-351 : ID., *Les fastes*, pp. 107-11, 131 ; Aurelius Celsinus was Prefect of Rome AD 341-342 and 351 : ID., *Les fastes*, pp. 112-4, 131 ; Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus Honorius was Prefect of Rome AD 353-356 and 357-359 : ID., *Les fastes*, pp. 139-47, 149 ; Flavius Peregrinus Saturninus was Prefect of Rome twice between AD 403 and 407 : ID., *Les fastes*, pp. 261-2, 264.

(130) The next individual who served as Prefect of Constantinople three times, Theodore Teganistes, administered that office in early sixth century AD : *PLRE*, II, p. 1256 ; cf. A. CAMERON, *Theodorus* τρισέπαρχος, in *GRBS*, 17 (1976), pp. 269-86.

(131) *PLRE*, I, p. 1055, and II, pp. 1252-3 ; CHASTAGNOL, *Les fastes*, pp. 347-48 ; JONES, *Late Roman Empire*, I, p. 380. Nicomachus Flavianus was Prefect of Rome AD 393-394, 399-400 and 408 : CHASTAGNOL, *Les fastes*, pp. 239-44, 253, 265 ; Anicius Acilius Glabrio Faustus was Prefect of Rome three times between AD 421 and 437 : ID., *Les fastes*, pp. 286-9.

(132) An individual's holding the same office more than once in the Late Empire would make an interesting study that is beyond the scope of this essay. However, the repetition of Sophronius, Clearchus and Themistius as Prefects of Constantinople under Valens and Theodosius I is an important consideration of this study ; see *infra* nn. 211-8 and 226-9 and text discussion.

(133) For Procopius and his revolt see *PLRE*, I, *Procopius 4*, pp. 742-3 ; W. ENSSLIN, *Prokopius 2, RE*, XXIII, 1 (1957), cols 252-6 ; O. SEECK, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, V, Berlin, 1913, pp. 46-57 ; PIGANIOL (*supra* n. 67), pp. 172-4 ; A. SOLARI, *La rivolta procopiana a Constantinopli*, in *Byz.*, 7 (1932), pp. 143-8 ; N. J. E. AUSTIN, *A Usurper's Claim to Legitimacy : Procopius in AD 365/6*, in *Rivista Storica dell'Antichità*, 2 (1972), pp. 187-94 ; GRATTAROLA (*supra* n. 4) *Aevum*, 60 (1986), pp. 82-105 ; F. J. WIEBE, *Kaiser Valens und die heidnische Opposition*, Bonn, 1995, pp. 3-85 ; S. ELBERN, *Usurpationen im spätrömischen Reich*, Bonn, 1984, p. 253 s.v. "Procopius (u)", and p. 232 for eastern European language articles ; LENSKI (*supra* n. 82), pp. 115-205 ; SUGARS (*supra* n. 4), pp. 47-68 ; R. DELMAIRE, *Les usurpateurs du bas-empire et le recrutement des fonctionnaires, IV, Procope*, in *Usurpationen in der Spätantike*, F. PASCHOUD and J. SZIDAT, eds, Stuttgart, 1997, pp. 118-20. For the ancient

Valens' ability to use these men in restoring and maintaining his control over the eastern capital after that rebellion. Caesarius' return to the eastern urban prefecture in the autumn of AD 366 would symbolize the restoration of Valens' regime in that city. There would also be a measure of justice done in returning Caesarius to office : he had suffered imprisonment, torture and disgrace for the cause of Valens, and he was fortunate to have survived the Procopius revolt ([134]). If he had been restored to office while Valens pursued the adherents of Procopius, Caesarius would have had a personal reason as Prefect to aid Valens in his proceedings against the *Procopiani* in Constantinople who had treated him badly ([135]). Valens may also have returned Caesarius to the rule of Constantinople to please his brother Valentinian I. Zosimus, IV, 6. 2, reports that both emperors appointed Caesarius to be Valens' first prefect of the eastern capital, and since Valentinian had the most influence in promotions at this time, Caesarius might well have been Valentinian's candidate ([136]). In several respects Caesarius' return to the prefecture of Constantinople may have represented the re-establishment of previous arrangements made for the city's governance.

sources see AM. MAR. XXVI, 6. 1-10. 14 ; ZOS. IV, 4-8, and 10. 1 ; THEM. *Or.* 7 *passim*. For literature on the sources see *supra* n. 4.

(134) Nebridius, Valens' Prefect of the East, was also imprisoned and tortured, but he did not survive the revolt : AM. MAR. XXVI, 7. 4-5 ; ZOS. IV, 6. 2 ; THEM. *Or.* 7, 91b and 92c ; cf. GRATTAROLA, *Aevum*, 60 (1986), pp. 89, 100.

(135) The Late Roman urban prefect could investigate treason, but he could not give sentences ; the emperor or his deputy delivered the latter : BARROW (*supra* n. 24), p. 3. AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, XXVI, 10. 10, shows that Valens delegated specially empowered individuals to examine those charged with complicity in the Procopius revolt. Perhaps Caesarius as restored Prefect would have worked with such individuals much like Ampelius, Prefect of Rome, did with Maximus, a specially empowered representative of Valentinian I, in hearing cases against those charged with magic and adultery in Rome in the early AD 370s : ID. XXVIII, 1. 22.

(136) Certainly Valens' sending the head of Procopius to Valentinian in Gaul was a mark of deference to his brother, as was his sending Euphrasius and Phronemius, Procopius' Master of the Offices and Prefect of Constantinople, to Valentinian for judgement as Gauls : AM. MAR. XXVI, 10. 6, 8 ; cf. DELMAIRE, *Usurpationen in der Spätantike* (*supra* n. 133), p. 120. Valentinian I influenced Valens' policy even after the Procopius affair was ended ; AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, XXVII, 4. 1, reports that Valens undertook the Gothic War of AD 366-369 on his brother's advice.

Valens' promotion of Sophronius as Caesarius' successor was also a reward for loyalty and a measure to ensure the emperor's control of the city. Valens' Gothic campaign of AD 366 involved the emperor's first sojourn from his capital after the Procopius revolt ([137]). Constantinople was the seat of that revolt and Procopius had great support in the city ([138]). Certainly the imperial party was concerned to place someone of Sophronius' tested loyalty over the capital. Valens had already made use of Sophronius in a similar fashion by appointing him Vicar of Pontus, a region that had been partially lost during the revolt of Procopius ([139]). Also, as a vicar or an ex-vicar, Sophronius was eligible to take a prefectship according to contemporary patterns of official advancement ([140]). An appointment as an urban prefect would complete the process of promotion that Valens intended for Sophronius as a reward for his loyalty and service during the Procopius revolt and in the restoration of Valens' regime in the Diocese of Pontus after the revolt. Valens therefore promoted Sophronius in office, responsibility and status by appointing him Prefect of Constantinople in AD 367.

Themistius' promotion involves several considerations. Loyalty to Valens or at least avoidance of disloyalty to the emperor during the Procopius revolt seems to have been a factor. When he established his control over Constantinople early in his rebellion, Procopius approached the Senate of the city in expectation of support for his regime against Valens ([141]). However, when he arrived at the senate house he found no distinguished senators but only a few nobles of lesser rank. Themistius as premier senator must have led the defection of the eastern senate from

(137) Valens appears to have visited Constantinople after the Procopius rebellion, as SOCRATES, IV, 8, reports that he traveled by Chalcedon after the defeat of Procopius. No doubt Valens spent some time in the capital to punish the adherents of the usurper in the city and in the districts of Asia Minor and Europe that Procopius had gained control over during his revolt : REICHE, p. 24 ; LENSKI, p. 202 n. 255.

(138) BLOCKLEY (*supra* n. 4), p. 59 : "Procopius had a fairly strong popular following, especially at Constantinople".

(139) *Supra* nn. 77-8 and text discussion. A late Roman emperor chose the prefect of his capital and his vicars : WILLEMS, pp. 501, 586, 602 ; cf. VOGLER, *Constance* II, p. 241 ; VIGNEAUX (*supra* n. 24), pp. 80-5.

(140) *Supra* nn. 56-9 and text discussion.

(141) AM. MAR. XXVI, 6. 18.

Procopius' bid for power ([142]). In addition, the Constantinopolitan senate could not have maintained friendly relations with the usurper afterwards, as Procopius levied a double tax on that body ([143]). Certainly the eastern senate established a *modus vivendi* with Procopius, but there is no evidence that Themistius or the eastern senate actively collaborated with the rebel ([144]). Valens therefore had a reason to reward the orator with a high official position as he did other individuals who had supported his cause during the Procopius rebellion ([145]). In addition, Valens' continued presence on the Gothic front in AD 368 and 369 forced him to rely on competent and loyal governors for the city. As a former Proconsul of Constantinople under Constantius II, as previous Prefect of the city under Julian and as a proven partisan of Valens' regime, Themistius would have been an obvious choice to succeed Sophronius in AD 368. More importantly, the nomination of Themistius, a recognized senator of civilian origin, as Prefect of Constantinople would signal the return of the capital to normal conditions of government after months of the rule of Prefects whose main concern was to re-establish Valens' regime in the city. Thus,

(142) Themistius probably remained in Constantinople during the Procopius adventure since he shows first hand knowledge of the course of the revolt in *Oration* 7 : G. SABBAH, *La méthode d'Ammien Marcellin,* Paris, 1978, pp. 361-3 ; cf. GRATTAROLA, *Aevum,* 60 (1986), p. 89.

(143) THEM. *Or.* 7, 92b. The tax seems to be a special levy added to the yearly tax owed by the senators : LEPPIN and PORTMANN, p. 139 n. 42, citing DELMAIRE, *Largesses sacrées*, p. 403.

(144) Hence there is no need to consider that Themistius was a sympathizer of Procopius as a pro-pagan candidate for the Empire or that he had to distance himself from the usurper in *Oration* 7 as is sometimes suggested, e.g. G. J. BAUDY, *Die Wiederkehr des Typhon. Katastrophen-Topoi in nachjulianischer Rhetoric und Annalistik : Zu literarischen Reflexen des 21. Juli 365 n. C.*, in *Jahrbuch für Antike & Christentum,* 35 (1992), p. 53.

(145) In addition to Caesarius and Sophronius these include Clearchus and Lupicinus. Clearchus as Vicar of Asia remained loyal to Valens during the revolt. He became Proconsul of Asia AD 366-367 and later Prefect of Constantinople 372-373 : SEECK, *RE,* XI, 1 (1921), col. 580 ; ID., *Briefe*, pp. 108-9 ; *PLRE,* I, pp. 211-2 ; SIEVERS, p. 259 ; PENELLA (*supra* n. 11), p. 132 ; DAGRON, *TM,* 3 (1968), p. 36 n. 4 ; PETIT, *Les fonctionnaires, Clearchus I,* p. 70. Lupicinus, commander of the eastern infantry, marched from the eastern frontier to support Valens against Procopius in Asia Minor and participated in the emperor's decisive victory over the usurper at Nacolia in May AD 366. He was made consul for AD 367 : O. SEECK, *Lupicinus 1, RE,* XIII, 2 (1927), col. 1844 ; *PLRE,* I, *Flavius Lupicinus*, pp. 520-1 ; PETIT, *Les fonctionnaires, Lupicinus*, p. 150.

Themistius' prefectship of AD 368 should be seen as the attempt by Valens and his party to maintain a balance between the imperial and civic interests in his capital in the years after the Procopius episode. In this regard it should be noted that the next Prefect of Constantinople, Modestus, was both a prominent citizen of the city and an imperial associate who was also a former prefect of the capital (late AD 362 to 363) ([146]).

A last consideration is an identification of an eastern urban prefect during the years AD 366 to 369 made outside the present study. In a historical study of Himerius of Athens' oratory ([147]), T. D. Barnes argues that the subject of Himerius' *Oration* 24, Severus, was Prefect of Constantinople some time in the late AD 360s from his description in the speech ([148]). As Barnes notes, the text of the oration is marred by many lacunae. But in one passage of the speech ([149]) the orator outlines the career of Severus, a man known only by this speech and by another speech of Himerius honoring his marriage (*Or.* 9) ([150]). Barnes believes that Severus held an east-

(146) DAGRON, *Naissance*, pp. 242-4, 246-7. Although he was a *clarissimus* since his appointment as *Comes orientis*, c. AD 358, Modestus did not enter the eastern senate until he became Prefect of Constantinople in late 362 : PETIT, *L'Antiquité Classique*, 26 (1957), pp. 348-9. After his first term as Prefect of Constantinople ended in AD 363, Modestus seems to have resided in or near Constantinople. In AD 364 he received some land from Valentinian I and Valens (LIB., *Let.* 1216) and hence was an imperial client ; in the same year he tried to increase his property in and around the capital (ID., *Let.* 1316). He built a house in Constantinople the next year (ID., *Let.* 1483) : *PLRE*, I, p. 608 ; SEECK, *Briefe*, p. 216. Modestus became Valens' long standing Prefect of the East for AD 370-377 and was one of the emperor's closest servants to whom he entrusted important aspects of his religious policy : R. S. O. TOMLIN, *Notitia Dignitatum omnium, tam civilium quam militarium*, in *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum*, R. GOODBURN and P. BARTHOLOMEW, eds, Oxford, 1976, p. 201 ; cf. SEECK, *Briefe*, pp. 216-8.

(147) T. D. BARNES, *Himerius and the Fourth Century*, in *Classical Philology*, 82 (1987), pp. 206-25. For literature on Himerius see ID., *Classical Philology*, 82 (1987), pp. 206-7 nn. 1-10 ; cf. H. SCHENKL, *Himerios 1*, *RE*, VIII, 2 (1913), cols 1622-35 ; W. CHRIST, W. SMID and O. STAHLIN, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, II, 2, 6th ed., Munich, 1961, cols 1000-4.

(148) BARNES, *Classical Philology*, 82 (1987), pp. 212-3. For the text of the speech see A. COLONNA, ed., *Himerii Declamationes et Orationes*, Rome, 1951, pp. 115-8.

(149) COLONNA, pp. 116.25-117.39.

(150) For Severus see SEECK, *Briefe*, *Severus VII*, p. 276 ; ID., *Severus 24*, *RE*, II, 2, A (1923), col. 2004 ; *PLRE*, I, *Severus 6*, p. 832.

ern urban prefectship at the time of *Oration* 24 from references to that office at the beginning and end of this career summary. At the beginning of the career sketch, Himerius alludes to the Black Sea and to "the Romans" before referring to Severus as holding the authority of a ὕπαρχος somewhere in the eastern section of the Empire (... ἵαν ἄχρι καὶ τῆς ἑτέρας πλευρᾶς διὰ Βοσπόρου τε καὶ Κιμμερίων περι [lacuna] Ῥωμαίων τελέσαντας. ἤδη δέ τινες καὶ τὴν ὕπαρχον ἐξουσίαν νόμῳ ...) ([151]). The text next relates that Severus once served in the imperial *comitatus* (αὐτὸς ἅπερ ἀκήκοα, ἀνέῳξαν ἐκείνῳ τὰς Βασιλείους [lacuna] ξαντες δὲ εὐθὺς φίλοις Βασιλέως ἐνέγραψαν) ([152]). After reporting governorships in Galatia and Bithynia for Severus (Γαλάτοι τῶν τιμῶν ἦσαν προοίμιον, Βιθυνοὶ μετ' ἐκείνους ...) ([153]), the orator refers to Severus as ὕπαρχος in the area of Bithynia (Βιθυνὸν τὴν χάριν σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις περιοίκοις ὕπαρχον...) ([154]). Barnes notes that in the late fourth century AD the term ὕπαρχος designated an urban prefect. He understands the allusions to Severus' office as ὕπαρχος as being near the Bosphorus and in the vicinity of Bithynia to refer to Severus' being Prefect of Constantinople at the time of the speech. Barnes maintains that Himerius delivered this speech at Constantinople during the late AD 360s and before he returned to Athens around 370 ([155]).

However, there are several difficulties in Barnes' interpretation of Himerius' *Oration* 24 ([156]). The allusion to the Bosphorus specifies not the

(151) Colonna, p. 116.27-29.

(152) Colonna, p. 116.32-34.

(153) Colonna, p. 117.37. Hence, modern prosopography reports Severus to have been Governor of Galatia and then *Consularis* of Bithynia : Seeck, *Briefe*, p. 276 ; Id., *RE*, II, 2, A (1923), col. 2004 ; *PLRE*, I, p. 832 ; Kuhoff, pp. 87, 89, 332 n. 133.

(154) Colonna, p. 117.38-39.

(155) Barnes *Classical Philology*, 82 (1987), p. 224, cf. pp. 213, 222.

(156) One is Barnes' interpretation, *Classical Philology*, 82 (1987), p. 213, of the enrollment of Severus in the imperial *comitatus* as coming after his two governorships. The text of *Oration* 24 reports Severus' comital assignment as chronologically prior to his governorships. Furthermore, emperors at this time promoted individuals from the *comitatus* to central and provincial posts, e.g. Flavius Taurus, who was *Comes ordinis primi*, c. AD 345, *Quaestor sacri palatii*, AD 354, and Praetorian Prefect of Italy and Africa, AD 355-361 : R. Scharf, *Comites und comitiva primi ordines*, Stuttgart, 1994, pp. 5-13 ; G. de Bonfils, *Il comes et quaestor nell'età della dinastia costantiniana*, Naples, 1981, pp. 1-39 ; *PLRE*, I, *Flavius Taurus 3*, pp. 814-7.

Thracian Bosphorus, but the Cimmerian Bosphorus on the northern coast of the Black Sea (διὰ Βοσπόρου τε καὶ Κιμμερίων) ([157]). The text does not clarify Severus' connection to this region that was outside the boundaries of the Roman Empire ([158]). Furthermore, the allusion to the Romans comes after a lacuna, and nothing in the surviving text before or after the break associates Severus with Constantinople as a Roman city or capital or designates where his magistracy was situated. In addition, the reference later in the text to Severus as ὕπαρχος in the area around Bithynia does not locate Severus' office in Constantinople. Ancient sources associate Constantinople not with Bithynia but with Europa, Thrace, the Thracian Bosphorus and the Hellespont ([159]). There is in fact no clear reference in the surviving text to Severus' holding an eastern urban prefectship during his career.

Moreover, although ὕπαρχος could designate an urban prefect in the fourth century AD ([160]), the use of this term in this specific meaning was

(157) *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd ed., N. G. L. HAMMOND and H. H. SCULLARD, eds, Oxford, 1970, p. 176. AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, XXII, 8. 13, clearly distinguishes the two Bosphori in his digression on Thrace and the Euxine Sea and neighboring regions : *duo... Bospori, e regione sibi oppositi, Thracius et Cimmericus.*

(158) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, XXII, 7. 9-10, includes the inhabitants of the Cimmerian Bosphorus among the *externae nationes* and *finitimi longeque distantes* that sent Julian embassies on his rise to sole rule in the Empire.

(159) Byzantium was in the Late Empire under the authority of Heraclea Perinthos, the metropolis of the province of Europa, until Constantine established Constantinople as an independent political entity under its own proconsul : R. JANIN, *Constantinople byzantine*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1964, pp. 22-3 ; DAGRON, *Naissance*, pp. 16, 63-4. Thus, the *Chronicon Paschale* s.v. 330 reports that Constantine made Constantinople independent of Europa : MOMMSEN, *Chronica minora*, I, p. 234. But in the early imperial age Byzantium was part of the province of Thrace : DAGRON, *Naissance*, pp. 61-2. Hence, LIBANIUS calls Constantinople a Thracian city in his autobiography : ὁ δ' ἄρα ἦν ἐν Θράκῃ τε καὶ Θράκης πόλει τῇ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τρυφώσῃ τοῖς ἱδρῶσι (*Or.* 1, 279) ; see FOERSTER, I, p. 202. The ancients associated Constantinople with the Bosphorus, as does LIBANIUS, *Letter* 86. 3F : οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι Βόσπορον ἰχθυόεντα ποθοῦντες ἐκεῖσε τρέχουσι ; see FORESTER, X, p. 86. Authors also identify Constantinople with Hellespont, e.g. Basil of Caesarea, *Letter* 1 : παρέδραμον δὲ τὴν ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλιν ; see R. J. DEFARRARI, tr., *Saint Basil, The Letters*, I-IV, Cambridge, Ma., and London, 1926-1934, I, p. 2.

(160) R. GUILLAND, *Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin. L'éparque. I. L'éparque de la Ville*, in *Bsl*, 41 (1980), p. 17 n. 1 ; DAGRON, *Naissance*, p. 226 n. 4.

not universal, especially in a rhetorical context. The term ὕπαρχος had a traditional meaning of "subordinate commander" or "governor" ([161]) that should be kept in mind when considering a Second Sophistic orator such as Himerius ([162]). Moreover, in contemporary usage the term could refer to a legate, a governor, a proconsul, a vicar or a praetorian prefect ([163]). In fact, the reference to Severus as ὕπαρχος in Bithynia and surrounding areas suggests that Severus was Vicar of Pontus at the time of the oration ([164]) and probably a successor to Sophronius in that office. As a resident of Constantinople in the late AD 360s, Himerius could easily have traveled to nearby Nicomedia or Nicaea, two important cities under the authority of the Vicar of Pontus, to give this speech. The current list of known Vicars of Pontus allows both Sophronius and Severus an appointment to this office in the late AD 360s ([165]). Hence, the office that Severus held and Himerius commemorated in his *Oration* 24 in the late AD 360s does not challenge the succession of Prefects of Constantinople proposed in this study.

The above discussion was concerned with several textual and historical issues concerning the identification, date and sequence of possible

(161) H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, rev. ed. by H. S. Jones, Oxford, 1968, p. 1853 col. 2, s.v. ὕπαρχος ; Mason (*supra* n. 107), pp. 13, 95 s.v. ὕπαρχος.

(162) For Himerius and the Second Sophistic see E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1909, I, pp. 351-450, esp. pp. 370, 379-92, 428-31 ; cf. G. A. Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors*, Princeton, 1983, pp. 45-51, esp. p. 49, and pp. 141-9.

(163) For ὕπαρχος as legate, governor or proconsul see Liddell and Scott, p. 3 col. 2 ; L. Robert, *Épigammes relatives à des gouverneurs*, in *Hellenica*, IV (1948), pp. 44-6. For ὕπαρχος as vicar see Foerster, XII, p. 45 s.v. Καισάριος Ἀρμένιος ; Robert, *Hellenica*, IV (1948), pp. 46-7 ; Kuhoff, p. 136 s.v. Flavius Anysius ; Mason, p. 94 s.v. ὑπαρχία. For ὕπαρχος as praetorian prefect see Mason, p. 139.

(164) Acceptance of Severus as Vicar of Pontus would explain the reference in *Oration* 24 to Severus' fame as reaching the Crimea. The vicariate of Pontus included the southern coast of the Black Sea directly opposite the Crimean Bosporus ; see map titled "Thrace and the Euxine" at end of J. C. Rolfe, tr., *Ammianus Marcellinus*, II, London and Cambridge, Ma., 1950. Asia Minor also exercised much cultural influence on the Crimean Bosphorus in late antiquity, including the introduction of Christianity : V. F. Gajdukevič, *Das bosporanische Reich*, 2nd German ed., Berlin and Amsterdam, 1971, pp. 476-96.

(165) *PLRE*, I, p. 1082. There is no recorded Vicar of Pontus from AD 363 to 370.

urban prefectships for Caesarius, Sophronius and Themistius in the late AD 360s discernible in the correspondence of Gregory of Nazianzus. It remains to examine the importance of these offices for the careers of their holders. Since this study originated in the investigation of a possible prefectship of Themistius during the reign of Valens, the majority of the following discussion will concern this office and its implications for the modern understanding of Themistius' career.

The present study suggests the need for the revision of current understanding of both Sophronius' and Themistius' careers. Modern prosopography records Sophronius' career as notary in AD 365, Master of the Offices in the 370s and Prefect of Constantinople in 382 ([166]). The present reconstruction of Sophronius' career suggests that Sophronius held two offices after his position as notary and before his mastership of the offices : a vicariate and an urban prefectship. If these latter offices are accepted, Sophronius' career is indeed one of the more unusual in late Roman office holding : Sophronius would be the only known easterner to rise twice to an urban prefectship from a lower office ([167]). The real anomaly in Sophronius' career, however, is his appointment as Master of the Offices c. AD 370 after his urban prefectship of 367-368 : the usual practice in the Eastern Empire at this time was to promote a person from an urban prefectship to a praetorian prefectship ([168]). Such anomalies are not unusual in Late Roman office holding ([169]), and imperial nomination of high officials usually explains such irregularities ([170]). In this instance the explanation seems to be Valens' policies of official appointments. Valens

(166) Cf. the literature cited *supra* n. 49.

(167) DAGRON, *Naissance*, p. 275 ; cf. pp. 240-73.

(168) DAGRON, *Naissance*, pp. 275-6.

(169) Some individuals became consuls without holding any previous office, including Optatus and Datianus, favorites of Constantine I and Constantius II : JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, I, pp. 558-9 ; some men ruled their home province against the law, e.g. Andronicus of Pentapolis, the nemesis of Synesius of Cyrene : ID., *Later Roman Empire*, I, p. 389 ; occasionally a former vicar became a governor : B. MALCUS, *Die Prokonsuln von Asien von Diokletian bis Theodosius II*, in *Opuscula Atheniensia*, 7 (1967), p. 108 and n. 3 on Dulcitius c. AD 360. Themistius' career is also an anomaly : a philosopher who recieved imperial appointments as a proconsul, an agent in populating the eastern senate and an urban prefect several times.

(170) Cf. JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, I, p. 379.

entrusted important offices to associates for long periods of tenure (171). For example, he relied on Domitius Modestus' service as Praetorian Prefect of the East from AD 370 to 377 (172). Therefore, Valens could not appoint Sophronius to that office during those years. But an appointment as Master of the Offices gave Sophronius a position of great power and influence (173) and one that enjoyed senatorial status (174). Hence, Valens' willingness to amend regular patterns of office holding to maintain better control over his central administration permitted Sophronius to continue to serve in his regime and later to become an important personage and ultimately an urban prefect again under Theodosius I. Sophronius' career under Valens and Theodosius I represents one of the most striking examples of the successful careers that many *novi homines* and notaries were able to achieve in the Late Roman period (175).

(171) LENSKI, pp. 102-11. Long term provincial appointments include Domitius Modestus as Prefect of the East, AD 369-377, and Clearchus, Eutropius and Festus as Proconsuls of Asia, AD 366-378 : MALCUS, *Opuscula Atheniensia,* 7 (1967), pp. 110-6. Palatine officers of long tenure during Valens' reign were Tatianus as Count of the Sacred Largesses, AD 374-380, and Fortunatianus as Count of the Private Purse, AD 370-377 : DELMAIRE, *Les responsables*, pp. 57-9, 62-7 ; ID., *Largesses sacrées*, p. 113.

(172) *Supra* nn. 98, 146.

(173) For the position of *magister officiorum* in the late Empire see JONES, *Later Roman Empire,* I, pp. 368-9, 575-84 ; COSENZA (*supra* n. 24), pp. 55-64 ; VOGLER, *Constance* II, pp. 224-8 ; WEISS (*supra* n. 57), pp. 45-9 ; DE MARTINO, V, pp. 224-6 ; DELMAIRE, *Les institutions*, pp. 75-95 ; A. E. R. BOAK, *The Master of the Offices in the Later Roman and Byzantine Empires* in *Two Studies in Later Roman and Byzantine Administration*, A. E. R. BOAK and J. E. DUNLAP, eds, New York and London, 1924, pp. 1-160 ; CLAUSS (*supra* n. 108), *passim*. This official supervised the operations of the central government and the activities of the imperial couriers, the *agentes in rebus*. Valens may have appointed Sophronius to this office to coordinate the activities of both the central administration and the courier service during the Persian campaign of AD 370.

(174) The *Magister officiorum* was a *clarissimus* by AD 356 or 357 : *CTh* VIII. 5. 8 ; also I. 9. 1 from AD 359 ; cf. BOAK, p. 45 and n. 3 ; DELMAIRE, *Les institutions*, p. 77 ; WEISS, p. 46 and n. 120 ; CHASTAGNOL, *L'évolution*, p. 199 ; VOGLER, *Constance II*, p. 227.

(175) *Supra* nn. 55-60 ; cf. LENSKI, pp. 105-6 ; VOGLER, *Constance* II, pp. 232-5 ; JONES, *Later Roman Empire,* I, p. 573. Sophronius' career is an example of a "mixed" career which involved both palatine (the mastership of the offices) and provincial (the vicariate and the urban prefectship) positions : SCHARF (*supra* n. 156), pp. 20-1 ; VOGLER, *Constance* II, pp. 232-5 ; cf. KUHOFF, p. 251.

The proposed prefectship of Themistius under Valens has important consequences for the understanding the career of Themistius. First, it underscores the importance of that emperor's reign in his career against recent revision ([176]). The orator was Prefect of Constantinople at least once and refused another appointment to that office during Valens' reign ([177]). In addition, Themistius participated in a number of delegations or embassies to the emperor on the Danube frontier and at Antioch ; he also led a delegation to Rome in AD 376 or 377 to represent the emperor at his nephew Gratian's *decennalia* ([178]). On these journeys and in Constantinople Themistius delivered several public orations in honor of Valens and other members of his family, some of which survive in modern editions of Themistius' speeches ([179]). More importantly, the

(176) *Contra* VANDERSPOEL who considers Themistius to have had two high points in his career : the reign of Constantius II during which he populated the eastern senate (pp. 71, 113) and the reign of Theodosius I under whom he took a prefectship of Constantinople (pp. 187, 216). Although VANDERSPOEL believes that Themistius enjoyed political importance and influenced imperial policy under Valens, Valens' reign did not represent a high point in the orator's career because the orator did not hold office during it (pp. 155, 185).

(177) For the present author's argument that Valens was the emperor whose offer of an urban prefectship Themistius refused according to his report in *Oration* 34 see BRAUCH, *Byz.*, 63 (1993), pp. 44-58.

(178) For these journeys see VANDERSPOEL, pp. 167-73 : Danube area ; pp. 176-9 : Antioch ; pp. 179-85 : Rome.

(179) Surviving speeches of THEMISTIUS given at Constantinople include *Oration* 6 celebrating Valens' and Valentinian's accession (winter AD 364/65), *Oration* 7 honoring Valens for the defeat of Procopius and his clemency toward many adherents of the rebel's cause (winter AD 366/67), and *Oration* 10 congratulating Valens for his peace treaty with the Goths (early AD 370). Of the speeches THEMISTIUS gave at or sent to the imperial party in the Danube region only *Oration* 8 celebrating Valens' *vicennalia* of AD 368 and *Oration* 9 honoring Valens' son Valentinian Galates' consulship of AD 369 survive ; however, in *Oration* 10 the orator refers to speeches delivered on the northern frontier in AD 369 while he was on a senatorial delegation to the emperor that have perished (133a-b ; cf. *Or.* 11, 144a). Of the speeches THEMISTIUS gave at Antioch, only *Oration* 11 honoring Valens' *decennalia* (early AD 373) and an extempore speech, *Oration* 25 (AD 375), can still be read. For THEMISTIUS' speech exhorting Valens to stop his persecution of his Christian opponents see the next note. *Oration* 13 honoring Gratian's ten-year rule of the Western Empire survives from THEMISTIUS' sojourn at Rome c. AD 376. For Themistius' oratory during the reign of Valens see SCHOLZE, pp. 25-48 ; DAGRON, *TM*, 3 (1968), pp. 21-3 ; VANDER-

orator exercised the greatest political influence on the reigning emperor and his policy during Valens' era. The orator enjoyed a close relationship with Valens based on the emperor's' friendship and regard for his advice (*Or.* 34, 14). Valens' friendship enabled Themistius to speak against his persecution of opposing Christian sectarians at Antioch, and to influence the emperor to mitigate his harsh policy ([180]). The orator claims that the emperor often permitted him to criticize his deeds and policies (*Or.* 31, 354d). Themistius' public career reached its summit during the reign of Valens as Photius discerned from the speeches of Themistius that he had read by the time he wrote his entry on the orator in the *Bibliotheca* (*cod.* 74).

Second, Themistius' urban prefectship under Valens shows the importance of that office in the orator's career and raises the question of his motivation for taking this office several times. Themistius in fact had many inducements to take this office. First, the office was an object of ambition and a great prize for its holder. A late Roman urban prefect enjoyed great prestige : he was equal in status and next in rank to a praetorian prefect, and only a consul held higher honor ([181]). Moreover, the prefect of a Late Roman capital was independent of the regular administration of the Empire as an official directly responsible to the emperor ([182]). The office gave its incumbent great powers in policing and provisioning the city, in supervising its economic life, public works and

SPOEL, pp. 155-85 *passim* ; PORTMANN, pp. 160-82. For the text of Themistius' surviving oratory from the reign of Valens see DOWNEY and NORMAN, I, pp. 105-257 : *Orations* 6-11, 13 ; II, pp. 113-5 : *Oration* 25.

(180) The oration in which THEMISTIUS pleaded for Valens' ending his harassment other Christians c. AD 375 or 376 does not survive except in references to its content in the church histories of SOCRATES, IV, 32, and SOZOMEN, VI, 36-37. The traditional *Oration* 12 of THEMISTIUS is a Latin forgery of this speech made in the early modern era : SCHOLZE, pp. 43-5 ; VANDERSPOEL, pp. 178-9. For the text of *Oration* 12 see DOWNEY and NORMAN, III, pp. 137-44.

(181) The praetorian and urban prefects held the highest official status of *illustris* : *CTh* VI, 7. 1 ; cf. JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, I, pp. 143, 375, 378, 528 ; PIGANIOL, p. 390 ; WILLEMS, p. 568. The urban prefect ranked below a praetorian prefect : JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, I, p. 690. However, a consul held the highest honor : ID., *Later Roman Empre*, I, p. 528 ; WILLEMS, p. 595. On the dignity of urban prefects see VIGNEAUX, pp. 86-94 ; CHASTAGNOL, *La préfecture urbaine*, pp. 187-213.

(182) *Supra* n. 51.

education, and especially in administering its justice ([183]). The urban prefect had several subordinates and a large *officium* of associates to assist him in the administration of his capital ([184]). The prefect was also the intermediary between the emperor and the city's senate and people ([185]). The office of eastern urban prefect was reserved for senators and was important enough for several senators to aspire to it more than once in their career ([186]).

But Themistius' interest in taking this office must also have been to maintain and amplify his own position within the eastern senate as its traditional leader. As the *Princeps senatus* of the Senate of Constantinople, Themistius enjoyed certain advantages over his senatorial colleagues : primacy in the order of senatorial precedence and protocol, the right to speak first on issues before the Senate and thereby influence senatorial decisions, and leadership of senatorial embassies to the emperors ([187]). This position, although not a magistracy, gave Themistius great moral and political influence ([188]) and must have been the ordinary way by which he maintained his role as leader of the Senate. But as urban prefect

(183) CHASTAGNOL, *La préfecture urbaine*, pp. 254-371 : police, provisions, finances, public works, education ; pp. 84-136, 372-84 : justice ; cf. BARROW, pp. 3-8 ; DE MARTINO, pp. 292-312 *passim* ; WILLEMS, pp. 585-93 ; VIGNEAUX, pp. 166-344.

(184) For the urban prefect's subordinates, e.g. *praefectus vigilum*, see JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, I, pp. 375, 691-2 ; WILLEMS, pp. 588-93 ; VIGNEAUX, pp. 95-100, 105-22 ; COSENZA, p. 18, DAGRON, *Naissance*, pp. 232-4 ; BARROW, pp. 2-8. For the urban prefect's *officium* see JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, I, p. 692 ; VIGNEAUX, pp. 101-5 ; COSENZA, p. 22 ; CHASTAGNOL, *La préfecture urbaine*, pp. 214-53 ; DAGRON, *Naissance*, pp. 234-9 ; BARROW, pp. 8-9 ; W. G. SINNIGEN, *The Officium of the Urban Prefecture during Late Roman Empire*, Rome, 1957.

(185) CHASTAGNOL, *La préfecture urbaine*, pp. 66-8, 78-80 ; JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, I, p. 332 ; DAGRON, *Naissance*, pp. 281, 283-6 ; BARROW, pp. 1-2 ; COSENZA, p. 20 ; VIGNEAUX, pp. 345-7 ; WILLEMS, p. 586.

(186) DAGRON, *Naissance*, pp. 274-7 ; J. MATTHEWS, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court, AD 364-425*, Oxford, 1975, pp. 15-6, 115 ; cf. *supra* nn. 125-31.

(187) CHASTAGNOL, *La préfecture urbaine*, pp. 69-72 ; VANDERSPOEL, pp. 68-9, 105-6, 184-5 ; L. P. RAYBAUD, *Essai sur le sénat de Constantinople des origines au règne de Léon VI le Sage*, Paris, 1963, p. 53.

(188) In *Oration* 34, 13, THEMISTIUS claims to have received this title from his senatorial colleagues when he was chosen to lead an embassy to Constantius II at Rome in AD 357 : VANDERSPOEL, pp. 68-9.

Themistius gained additional powers in and over the Senate as the president of that body : the right to convene the Senate and preside over its meetings ; the duty of relaying senatorial messages to the emperor and the emperor's messages to the Senate ; control over the Senate's *aerarium* and chancery ; jurisdiction over senators ; and the right to inspect the credentials of candidates for the magistracies that the Senate filled, such as praetors, and of candidates for cooption into the Senate ([189]). It would be natural for Themistius to reinforce his position as *Princeps senatus* of the eastern senate by taking an occasional appointment as Prefect of Constantinople ; even his status as an *honoratus* after he left office would have augmented his leadership of that body. Such concerns were amplified by the fact that the eastern senate more than the western senate was populated by *novi homines* brought in by successive emperors ([190]), and amid the ambition and jealousy of these new senators Themistius would have had to use whatever political leverage he could muster to maintain his traditional position among them.

In addition, holding the prefectship of Constantinople gave Themistius several opportunities to use his office to promote his private interest and personal reputation in and around Constantinople ([191]). As Prefect, Themistius could manipulate his exercise of justice for the sake of his associates, clients and connections (e.g. Greg. Naz. *Let.* 24). He could also improve his standing with the general populace of the capital by ensuring the city's safety and food supply, by his official patronage of the city's guilds and corporations, by his conduct of the games and shows in the hippodrome, by his supervision of the building projects that were the delight of the city's inhabitants and its visitors, and by acting as the people's spokesman to the Senate and emperor ([192]). The emperor's absence

(189) JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, I, pp. 332, 536, 357 ; CHASTAGNOL, *La préfecture urbaine*, pp. 66-9, 72-8 ; RAYBAUD (*supra* n. 187), p. 53.

(190) JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, I, pp. 551-2 ; MATTHEWS, *Western Aristocracies*, pp. 102-3 ; CHASTAGNOL, *Le sénat romain*, p. 267 ; ID., *L'évolution de l'ordre sénatorial aux IIIe et IVe siècles de notre ère*, in *Revue Historique*, 244 (1970), p. 312 ; cf. MAISANO, p. 29.

(191) For the vague boundary between "public" and "private" aspects of office holding in the Late Empire see MATTHEWS, *Western Aristocracies*, pp. 1-31, esp. pp. 12-31 ; cf. CHASTAGNOL, *La préfecture urbaine*, pp. 459-62.

(192) JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, I, pp. 689-711 *passim* ; MATTHEWS, *Western Aristocracies*, pp. 18-23 ; CHASTAGNOL, *La préfecture urbaine*, pp. 81-3. Any supervision or inauguration of a building or a repair project by an urban

from the capital augmented the Prefect's personal as well as political influence in the city (193). In addition, holding an urban prefectship enabled Themistius to expand his patronage within and beyond the city as Themistius can be seen to have achieved from the letters of Libanius written to him as Proconsul of Constantinople in the late AD 350s (194). Reconstructing his patronage network might have been a particular incentive for Themistius to take the prefectship in AD 368 after the social and political disruption caused by the Procopius rebellion in Constantinople and the surrounding area. An urban prefectship would also have gained its incumbent access to the imperial court and its personnel to promote his influence and patronage in an imperial context (195). Finally, the renown of high office holders circulated beyond Constantinople and the imperial court and promoted their personal reputation in Eastern society upon which much of their patronage and public influence was based (196). Even a short term of office as urban prefect permitted individuals to

prefect would be memorialized by an inscription bearing his name : VIGNEAUX, pp. 327-30 ; MATTHEWS, *Western Aristocracies*, pp. 21-2.

(193) CHASTAGNOL, *La préfecture urbaine*, p. 64 ; MATTHEWS, *Western Aristocracies*, p. 19. All three of Themistius' urban prefectships witnessed the reigning emperor's absence from the capital for part or all of his term of office (*infra* n. 204).

(194) P. BROWN, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity : Towards a Christian Empire*, Madison, 1992, p. 69. In *Letter* 70. 1F, LIBANIUS reports that he had regularly asked Themistius as Proconsul to help his friends and acquaintances : ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων σε παρακαλῶν ἐκείνοις ὤμην διδόναι χάριν. No doubt Libanius' friends included those of Antioch, Constantinople and several other eastern cities.

(195) In *Letter* 62F LIBANIUS asks Proconsul Themistius to introduce his relative Priscianus to Constantius II and to arrange for his appointment to a position in the imperial entourage that would give him senatorial status. Similarly, in *Letter* 66. 2F, written around the time Themistius left his proconsulship, LIBANIUS remarks on Themistius' ability to help people by his proximity to Constantius II : καὶ ὡς ὅσα ἐπήγγελλες φίλων ἦν κηδομένου καὶ ὡς ὅσων μνησθείης εὐθὺς ἐν ἀμείνοσι.

(196) The letters of Basil of Caesarea show the circulation of the reputations of high officials in Cappadocia. In *Letter* 75 BASIL informs Aburgius that he has reached so high position in Valens' regime that his fame is known everywhere : ὥστε διὰ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης γνώριμον εἶναί σου τὴν περιφάνειαν (DEFERRARI, II, p. 78). In *Letter* 152 BASIL reports to Victor that his great honors as general and former consul of Valens were known to all living in Cappadocia : σοῦ δὲ πῶς ἔστιν ἐπιλαθέσθαι, οὗ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις λαλεῖται τὸ

develop their position as patrons and to expand their personal prestige and influence in eastern society in general ([197]).

Yet the eastern emperors also induced Themistius to take several urban prefectships. Themistius' true power base in eastern politics was not his leadership of the eastern senate but his personal standing with the successive rulers of the Eastern Empire ([198]). Themistius' career shows him to have been the agent of the emperors for their proper maintenance of the eastern senate and capital. This is most obvious under Constantius II : this emperor raised Themistius to the Senate of Constantinople in AD 355 ([199]) and made him Proconsul of the city in the late 350s with a special duty of enlarging the senate's membership ([200]). The urban prefect who succeeded the proconsul in Constantinople essentially ruled the city and its senate as the emperor's representative ([201]). As a prominent senator of proven loyalty and service, Themistius would have often been asked to take an urban prefectship, and he says in *Oration* 34 that the emperors had several times offered him the office ([202]). It would have been difficult

ὄνομα (DEFERRARI, II, p. 374). In *Letter* 196 BASIL informs Aburgius that fame had brought the news of his imperial service to his home province : ἡ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἄγγελος φήμη ἀγγέλουσα ἡμῖν οὐ διαλείπει (DEFERRARI, III, p. 88). In *Letter* 214 BASIL tells Terentius that he has heard of his return to office and his participation in public affairs at Antioch with other high officials of Valens' regime : ἀλλὰ πάλιν ἡμᾶς ἑτέρα φήμη κατέσχεν, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας διάγοντος καὶ τὰ ἐν χερσὶ πράγματα ταῖς μεγάλαις ἀρχαῖς συνδιέποντος (DEFERRARI, III, p. 226). Cf. M. M. FOX, *The Life and Times of St. Basil the Great as Revealed in his Works*, Washington, DC, 1939, pp. 64-65, 108.

(197) Cf. MATTHEWS, *Western Aristocracies*, p. 23.

(198) JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, I, p. 392.

(199) VANDERSPOEL, pp. 87-8.

(200) PETIT, *L'Antiquité Classique*, 26 (1957), pp. 349-50 ; cf. DAGRON, *Naissance*, pp. 129-33 ; ID., *TM*, 3 (1968), pp. 9, 40, 213-7 ; VANDERSPOEL, pp. 104-8 ; A. CHASTAGNOL, *Remarques sur les sénateurs orientaux au IV^e siècle*, in *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 24 (1976), pp. 350-4. Note that the last three authors do not believe that Themistius was Proconsul of Constantinople while recruiting senators for the eastern capital. For Themistius' proconsulship see L. J. DALY, *Byz.*, 53 (1983), pp. 171-89. For Themistius and Constantius II see VANDERSPOEL, pp. 71-113 ; G. WIRTH, *Themistios und Constantius*, *BF*, 6 (1978), pp. 293-317.

(201) DAGRON, *Naissance*, pp. 277-86, esp. p. 281.

(202) Παρακλήσεις δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην οὐχ ἅπαξ οὐδὲ δίς, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις, 13.

for Themistius to refuse these offers and remain in the emperors' favor. Intermittent office holding, the regular means by which individuals in the Late Empire continued their careers ([203]), would have been the expected means by which Themistius would maintain his position with the imperial court. It should be noted that Themistius officially served every emperor of long reign or of particular consequence for Constantinople, Constantius II as Proconsul and Julian, Valens and Theodosius I as Prefect, and that each of these appointments came at critical times for the emperor and his relations with the eastern senate ([204]).

Another factor in Themistius' career is his ambition. Themistius' public career involved several decades of exploiting the presence of the eastern emperors and the new imperial capital in the Hellenic East to promote his prominence in eastern political affairs and society ([205]). Themistius' intent on preserving his political influence involved his acceptance and argued defense of several imperial regimes of different composition and conflicting policy. Several other signs of ambition and his use of his connections with the reigning emperor and the eastern capital to promote his public and private influence punctuated Themistius' career : his concern to have an edition of his imperial speeches deposited in the library built by Constantius II in Constantinople c. AD 357 for the preservation of the classical heritage (*Or.* 4, 61c-d) ; his appointing several of his students to official positions at high salaries while Proconsul of the capital c. AD 359 (*Or.* 23, 290c-292c) ; his circulation in Constantinople of his *Oration* 5 honoring Jovian's imperial consulship of AD 364 to advertise his association with the new regime (Soc. III, 26) ;

(203) JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, I, p. 378.

(204) Themistius served Constantius as Proconsul of Constantinople AD 357-359 with the charge of recruiting senators to the new capital's senate. Julian appointed Themistius Prefect of Constantinople in AD 362 to maintain his control of the eastern senate and capital while he inaugurated his regime in the East and relocated to Antioch to prepare for his Persian campaign. Valens made Themistius Prefect in AD 368 to rule the city in his absence on the northern front. Theodosius I raised Themistius to the prefecture of Constantinople in late AD 383 (*infra* n. 228 for the date) to maintain his control over the eastern capital while he pursued the usurper Maximus in the West ; STEGEMANN, *RE*, V, A, 2 (1934), col. 1662.

(205) Cf. DAGRON, *TM*, 3 (1968), pp. 5-13 ; VANDERSPOEL, pp. 71-216 ; MATTHEWS, *Western Aristocracies*, pp. 115-8 ; PENELLA (*supra* n. 11), pp. 135, 140.

his assuming the role of tutor to the young Galates in *Oration* 9 (121d-124b) and Arcadius, the son of Theodosius I, in *Oration* 18 (224b-225b) ; and his expression of pride in his honors from the various emperors he served in his late orations (*Or.* 31, 354d-355a ; *Or.* 34, 13). Themistius' ambition ultimately had a negative effect on contemporary Greek society : his enrollment of prominent Easterners into the Senate of Constantinople in the late AD 350s undermined the civic life of the Hellenic East by depriving many eastern cities of the services and financial resources of the individuals he recruited ([206]). A man of Themistius' ambition who placed the interests of his career above those of the culture that produced him would likely accept an official appointment whenever possible.

Although moderns often disregard Themistius' ambition, the opposition that Themistius encountered among eastern intellectuals demonstrates that Themistius' contemporaries were well aware of his true motive for participating in the political life of the Eastern Empire. In the context of his society, a philosopher like Themistius was expected to teach philosophy in private ; his public life was restricted to serving the needs of his home city and to dealing with the imperial power only incidently as a mediator between his city and the emperor ([207]). But Themistius' continuous service to the eastern capital and court exceeded the boundary of acceptable public activity for a philosopher in the Late Roman world ([208]). The negative reaction of the contemporary Hellenic intelligensia to Themistius' career of service to the eastern imperial establishment is most apparent in the absence of Themistius in the series of biographies of eminent Greek philosophers and sophists produced by Eunapius of Sardis at the end of the century ([209]). Themistius seems also

(206) DAGRON, *TM*, 3 (1968), *passim*, esp. pp. 9, 40 ; P. PETIT, *Libanius et la vie municipale à Antioche au IV^e siècle après J.-C.*, Paris, 1955, pp. 168-9 ; ID., *L'Antiquité Classique*, 26 (1957), pp. 349-50 ; J. G. SMEAL, JR., *Themistios : The Twenty-Third Oration* (dissertation, Vanderbilt U.), Nashville, Tn, 1989, pp. 12-3 ; PENELLA, pp. 139-40 ; cf. MATTHEWS, *Western Aristocracies*, pp. 103, 116 ; SEECK, *Briefe*, pp. 298-9.

(207) P. BROWN, *The Philosopher and Society in the Late Antiquity*, Berkeley, 1980, *passim* for the political role permitted to philosophers in the Greek East ; cf. DAGRON, *TM*, 3 (1968), p. 52, n. 115 ; SMEAL, pp. 40-2.

(208) MATTHEWS, *Western Aristocracies*, pp. 116-8 ; DAGRON, *TM*, 3 (1968), pp. 36-60, esp. pp. 42-8 ; SMEAL, pp. 17-42.

(209) PENELLA, pp. 134-41.

to have met vocal opposition from other intellectuals throughout his service, but this resistance seems to have been particularly strong at the beginning of his official career in the late AD 350s and at its end c. 384 ([210]).

One other factor needs consideration. The reappearance of the same individuals, Themistius, Clearchus and Sophronius, as Prefects of Constantinople during the reign of Valens and again in the early reign of Theodosius I should be noted ([211]). Proven loyalty was no doubt a reason for their continued service in this important office under Theodosius ([212]), but their taking the office in the AD 380s demands a closer study of their record. These individuals took their place in the eastern senate late in the reign of Constantius II (Themistius and Clearchus) and in the early reign of Valens (Sophronius) ([213]) ; they knew each other ([214]) and even succeeded each other as Prefect of the eastern capital ([215]). They appear to have been an alliance of long-standing senators who tried to maintain control of the leadership of the eastern senate and capital by governing the prefecture of Constantinople in successive reigns. Although the selection of the eastern urban prefect might show the personal disposition of

(210) L. MÉRIDIER, *Le philosophe Thémistios devant l'opinion de ses contemporains*, Rennes, 1906, pp. 1-45, 87-117 ; cf. SMEAL, pp. 17-42. Much of this opposition was jealousy over Themistius' success.

(211) Cf. *supra* nn. 125-32 and text discussion.

(212) Loyalty was an important credential for official appointment in the late Roman era and could overrule the need for specialized qualifications for a particular position. In addition, birth, social position, education and rhetorical, literary and intellectual distinction were also factors in official promotions, and Themistius particularly enjoyed these advantages : JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, I, pp. 387-8.

(213) Themistius was adlected into the Senate in AD 355 VANDERSPOEL, pp. 87-8 ; Clearchus was enrolled by Themistius c. AD 359 : PETIT, *L'Antiquité Classique*, 26 (1957), pp. 349, 351-2 ; Sophronius probably entered the Senate as urban prefect in AD 367.

(214) Clearchus was Themistius' assessor as Proconsul of Constantinople in AD 357-359 : STEGEMANN, *RE*, V, A, 2 (1934), col. 1644 ; *PLRE*, I, p. 211 ; cf. SEECK, *Briefe*, p. 108 ; ID., *RE*, XI, 1 (1921), col. 579 ; all three must have participated in the re-establishment of Valens' regime in Constantinople and surrounding areas after Procopius was defeated ; all were members of the eastern senate after AD 367 (*supra* n. 213).

(215) Themistius succeeded Sophronius in AD 368 ; Clearchus succeeded Sophronius in AD 382 ; Themistius succeeded Clearchus in AD 383 : *supra* nn. 126-30 and text discussion ; cf. *PLRE*, I, p. 1056.

the emperors for filling this office ([216]), various groups of senators vying with each other for supremacy in the eastern senate must have influenced the emperors' selection of urban prefects to a certain extent ([217]). The entry into the eastern senate of the various partisans and *novi homines* of successive eastern emperors must have given rise to several factions and interest groups within the Senate of Constantinople ([218]). No doubt those individuals brought into the Senate later in the reign of Valens and in the reign of Theodosius I competed for position and honors with Themistius and his older group of senators. Perhaps one of the reasons Themistius took his prefectship of AD 384 was to defend the position of his group of senators against younger senators or to re-establish his leadership within his group.

The above considerations have important consequences for understanding Themistius' career under Valens and Theodosius I. For example, membership in a group of senators competing with other such groups may explain Themistius' decline of an offer of a prefectship under Valens that the orator reports in Chapter 14 of *Oration* 34. The vigorously pressed claims of a more recently formed group among eastern senators may have forced the orator to forgo an appointment later in the reign of Valens. Individuals who gained prominence under Valens appear in the list of eastern urban prefects toward the end of his reign, and any of these individuals and their supporters could have successfully challenged Themistius for that office ([219]). This interpretation of Themistius' refer-

(216) DAGRON, *Naissance*, pp. 231-2.

(217) For senatorial factions see RAYBAUD, p. 73.

(218) Valens promoted a number of Pannonians and easterners : LENSKI, pp. 96-114. Theodosius brought several Gallo-Spanish officials to the east and promoted other westerners and eastern supporters : MATTHEWS, *Western Aristocracies*, pp. 107-15. Hence the eastern senate witnessed a continual influx of new members.

(219) One is Vindoanius Magnus, Prefect AD 375-376. Magnus' career began under Valens ; by AD 373 he was Valens' *Comes sacrarum largitionum : PLRE*, I, *Vindoanius Magnus 12*, p. 536 ; SEECK, *Briefe*, *Magnus III*, pp. 199-200 ; PETIT, *Les fonctionnaires*, *Magnus III*, pp. 151-2 ; DELMAIRE, *Les responsables*, pp. 59-61 ; DAGRON, *Naissance*, p. 249. Magnus was a close associate of Valens who helped the emperor impose his religious policy : TOMLIN, *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum* (*supra.* n. 146), p. 201. In addition, the Procopius who was the prefect of Constantinople in AD 377 (*CTh* VI, 2. 12 ; cf. *CJ* 12, 1. 11) is most likely Valens' nephew : LENSKI, p. 99, n. 306 ; cf. *PLRE*, I, *Procopius 5* and *9*, pp. 743-4 ; DAGRON, *Naissance*, pp. 249-50 ; W. ENSSLIN, *Prokopius 5* and *6*, *RE*,

ence to a refused prefectship in *Oration* 34 is preferable to the conventional view that Themistius rejected the offer of that office from either Constantius II or Julian. It is in better accord with the text of *Oration* 34 : the emperor whose offer of an urban prefectship that Themistius says he declined in *Oration* 34 is presented as an emperor who came after Constantius II and Julian ([220]). In addition, the opposition that Themistius faced in AD 384 was of more recent origin than the reigns Constantius II and Julian and reflects Themistius' political circumstances in the late AD 370s and early 380s. A prefectship refused c. AD 360 would have had little relevance in 384, and newer senators would not have known much about Themistius' early career. This interpretation of Themistius' *Oration* 34 suggests that toward the end of Valens' reign Themistius was losing his traditional pre-eminence in Constantinople and its senate. It is clear that Themistius would have taken the urban prefectship that he failed to obtain under Valens had he not encountered resistance ([221]), and since an eastern urban prefect needed the assent of the eastern senators to take his office ([222]), the individuals who most likely obstructed his second nomination by Valens as Prefect of Constantinople were his senatorial colleagues.

In response to growing opposition from senators, Themistius would increasingly rely on imperial support, his true power base, to maintain his political career and his position in the eastern senate and capital. Not surprisingly, Themistius became the mouthpiece of imperial policy in the early reign of Theodosius I, particularly toward the Goths ([223]). He also

23, 1 (1957), col. 257 ; SEECK, *Briefe*, *Prokopius V*, p. 247 ; cf. Zos. 5, 9. 3-5. It would be increasingly difficult for Themistius to compete with individuals with such ties to the emperor as Valens' reign continued.

(220) Constantius, Julian and Valens are discussed in separate chapters of *Oration* 34, Constantius and Julian in Chapter 13 and Valens in Chapter 14 : DOWNEY and NORMAN, II, pp. 221-3.

(221) MÉRIDIER, p. 110.

(222) In *Oration* 17, 215d, THEMISTIUS says that the assent of his fellow senators was necessary for him to become Prefect of the capital in late AD 383 : καὶ τοῦ διδόντος ἕνεκα τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τοῦ λαμβάνοντος, οἷς συναγωνίζεσθαι καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐστιν ἀναγκαῖον, ὦ πατέρες συγγεγραμμένοι ; cf. PENELLA, tr., *The Private Orations of Themistius*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 2000, pp. 35-6.

(223) Recent scholarship emphasizes Themistius' role as spokesman for Theodosius' Gothic policy AD 379 to 382. In *Oration* 14 given in the spring of AD 379, THEMISTIUS conveys Theodosius' militant attitude towards the Goths at

promoted Theodosius' domestic policies in his oratory during these years ([224]). In addition, Themistius did not enjoy the freedom of expression during Theodosius' reign that he enjoyed under Valens. For example, Themistius did not protest at any point in Theodosius' rule the emperor's persecution of pagans and non-orthodox Christians ([225]). In this reign Themistius clearly lost initiative with the reigning emperor and became a servile adjunct to the imperial will. This dependence on the emperor is a sign of the continued decline of Themistius in eastern political affairs in the early reign of Theodosius I.

But Themistius and his older group of senators returned to the governance of the eastern urban prefecture for a short time under Theodosius I. Although Theodosius brought a number of westerners to the East to take high court office, he permitted easterners to govern most high provicial offices in the East, including the prefecture of Constantinople ([226]). Theodosius also seems to have preferred senators of older origin to rule the eastern urban prefecture. Although the antecedents of the first two of Theodosius' Prefects of Constantinople are unclear ([227]), a succession of

a time when the imperial party hoped for a decisive victory over them. But THEMISTIUS' *Oration* 15 pronounced in early AD 381 shows the softening of the imperial stance toward the Goths as a decisive Roman victory seemed less possible. In *Oration* 16 delivered in January of AD 383, THEMISTIUS urges support of the peace that Theodosius eventually made with the Goths that showed the Roman inability to defeat them decisively. See HEATHER (*supra* n. 91), pp. 166-8 ; S. WILLIAMS and G. J. P. FRIELL, *Theodosius : The Empire at Bay,* New Haven, 1995, pp. 33-5 ; cf. R. M. ERRINGTON, *Theodosius and the Goths,* in *Chiron,* 26 (1996), pp. 8-15 ; cf. M. PAVAN, *La politica gotica di Teodosio nella pubblicistica del suo tempo,* Rome, 1964, 6-29. For the texts of these speeches see DOWNEY and NORMAN, I, pp. 259-65 : *Oration* 14 ; pp. 267-86 : *Oration* 15 ; pp. 287-304 : *Oration* 16.

(224) In several speechs THEMISTIUS praises Theodosius' allowing the children of condemned individuals to inherit their patrimony ; see PENELLA, *Themistius*, p. 223 n. 26, and p. 234 n. 9 and cited passages from *Orations* 15, 16, 17 and 34.

(225) For Theodosius I's religious policies see N. Q. KING, *The Emperor Theodosius and the Establishment of Christianity*, Philadelphia, 1960, *passim.* Although Theodosius did not proceed against paganism until after Themistius served him as urban prefect, his legislation of the early AD 380s against Arians, Manicheans and Christian apostates to paganism exposed his intention to make Nicene Christianity supreme in the Empire at the expense of all other religions.

(226) MATTHEWS, *Western Aristocracies*, pp. 114-5.

(227) These individuals are Restitutus and Pancratius. Restitutus is known only by the laws that address him as the Prefect of Constantinople of AD 380 ;

older senators became established relatively soon. By AD 382, Sophronius became Prefect for a short time ; thereafter Clearchus enjoyed a term of at least a year until Themistius replaced him a little before AD 384 ([228]). No doubt Theodosius made these appointments to gain the support of traditional elements of the eastern power structure to solidify his rule in the East ([229]).

But the succession of Themistius as Prefect caused a crisis in Constantinople as is clearly seen in Themistius' orations concerning his prefectship under Theodosius I ([230]). In *Oration* 17, Themistius' official speech of acceptance of the emperor's nomination of him as Prefect, it is clear that the orator had difficulty gaining the assent of his senatorial colleagues for his office. Themistius hints at oppostion in the eastern senate to his appointment as Prefect when he says that it was necessary for his fellow senators to accept his appointment for him to conduct his office successfully (215d). In addition, Themistius relates that his nomination as prefect had caused physical or at least verbal commotion in the Senate, as he demands that his colleagues restore order and decorum to the senate house and accept his leadership as Prefect (216b-c). *Oration* 31, written while Themistius was still in office, shows that his term as prefect had given rise to so much opposition that he was forced to defend his office by reference to Theodosius' recent plea for the senators to accept his rule (355a). From *Oration* 34 delivered after Themistius left office it appears that Themistius' opposition in the Senate in the eastern senate had forced him from office after only a few months of governance (μῆνας ὀλίγους, XI) ([231]) and that even after he resigned his office he had to defend its term and his whole career. It is also clear from this oration that Themistius had

other laws refer to Pancratius as *Comes rei privatae* in AD 380 and as Prefect of Constantinople in 381 : DAGRON, *Naissance*, pp. 251-2.

(228) For Sophronius' and Clearchus' terms as Prefect of Constantinople AD 382-383 see *supra* nn. 126, 128. Themistius' urban prefectship must have begun in late AD 383 since *Oration* 31, written while THEMISTIUS was Prefect, refers to the current month as the "sacred month" (τὴν ἱερομηνίαν, 252b), which should be understood in the traditional pagan sense as January ; hence, the orator took office at some point before January AD 384 ; cf. VANDERSPOEL, pp. 209-10 ; PENELLA, *Themistius*, p. 35.

(229) Cf. MATTHEWS, *Western Aristocracies*, pp. 101-21.

(230) PENELLA, *Themistius*, pp. 34-40 ; cf. SMEAL, pp. 33-42.

(231) On this point see DAGRON, *TM*, 3 (1968), p. 49 ; VANDERSPOEL, p. 208 ; SMEAL, p. 37 ; MAISANO, p. 48 ; PENELLA, *Themistius*, p. 39.

encountered opposition to his office under Theodosius I from other intellectuals and from several individuals among the politically concerned elements of Constantinople ([232]).

Yet the great opposition to Themistius' prefectship of AD 384 is readily explained. Themistius' traditional supremacy in the eastern senate and his eminence in Constantinople and vicinity were bound to be challenged in an even stronger fashion in Theodosius I's reign than under Valens. The most immediate threat came from within the Senate. Individuals who entered the eastern senate under Theodosius I would increasingly compete with Themistius and other older senators for influence or position within that body ([233]). In addition, Themistius' support in the eastern senate that he had achieved in the late AD 350s by his recruitment of several hundred senators had probably been greatly eroded by the death and retirement of many of his appointees by the AD 380s. Also, Themistius' office would have occasioned great jealousy among many recently recruited senators, particularly if it was his third tenure of that office and if it represented the continuation of the supremacy in the Senate of an older faction of senators by its leader. Themistius admits in *Oration* 31 that many senators discontented by his appointment as Prefect were supporting the leadership of certain ambitious senators against him (355a). Moreover, the opposition from intellectuals who believed that a philosopher such as Themistius should avoid politics would only increase as Themistius continued to serve Theodosius ([234]). Although these individuals may have excused Themistius' prefectship under Julian as honorable service to an emperor who promoted pagan

(232) Cf. MÉRIDIER, 100-12 ; PAVAN (*supra* n. 223), pp. 31-41 : DAGRON, *TM*, 3 (1968), pp. 50-1 ; VANDERSPOEL, pp. 214-5 ; PENELLA, *Themistius*, pp. 38-40 ; H. SCHNEIDER, ed. and tr., *Die 34. Rede des Themistios*, Winterthur, 1966, pp. 13-8.

(233) The pressure from Theodosius' party in the senate no doubt was increased by the residency of the imperial court in Constantinople that gave courtiers of senatorial status much easier access to the eastern senate than those of previous emperors who generally resided outside the capital ; cf. MATTHEWS, *Western Aristocracies*, pp. 101-21, esp. p. 114.

(234) Cf. DAGRON, *TM*, 3 (1968), pp. 49-60 ; MATTHEWS, *Western Aristocracies*, pp. 116-8 ; SMEAL, pp. 36-42. This includes PALLADAS' poem XI, 292, in the *Greek Anthology* criticizing Themistius for taking his urban prefectship of AD 384 ; see MÉRIDIER, pp. 100-12 ; BRAUCH, *Byz.*, 71, 2 (2001), nn. 14-9 and text discussion.

Hellenism ([235]) and Themistius' prefectship under Valens as a necessary remedy to the Procopius crisis in Constantinople ([236]), Themistius' continued service as the spokesman for Theodosius I's regime and his urban prefectship in AD 384 would have appeared as performed simply out of ambition. Moreover, Themistius' service under the Christian Theodosius no doubt insulted many pagans ([237]), and intellectuals and others who championed Julian's aggressive military policy toward Germans in opposition to Theodosius and Themistius' policy of peaceful assimilation of the Goths ([238]) would likewise join the opposition against the orator.

With these considerations in mind, one can better evaluate Themistius' arguments in his late speeches concerning that office and his life's political activities ([239]). Themistius' presentation is very unsatisfactory both as a defense against his detractors and as a record of his career. He claims in these speeches that the opposition to his taking his office of AD 384

(235) EUNAPIUS in his *Lives of the Sophists* does not criticize the doctor Oribasius or the sophist Nymphidianus for serving Julian as his adviser and his *Magister epistularum Graecarum* respectively : MATTHEWS, *Western Aristocracies*, pp. 103-4 ; PENELLA, *Eunapius*, pp. 139-40.

(236) A philosopher could act as a mediator between a city and an emperor : *supra* n. 207. Thus Themistius' prefectship of AD 368 would be an extension of his service to Constantinople when he requested in *Oration* 7 Valen's clemency for the city and its people for any guilt that they had incurred during the Procopius rebellion centered in that city.

(237) MATTHEWS, *Western Aristocracies*, pp. 117-8, esp. p. 118 : "it may be that the religious temper of the regime of Theodosius had already become so painfully clear, that to Themistius' critics, his collaboration could not help but cast doubts upon his motives".

(238) PAVAN, pp. 31-5 ; cf. DAGRON, *TM*, 3 (1968), p. 58 ; L. J. DALY, *The Mandarin and the Barbarians : the Response of Themistius to the Gothic Challenge*, in *Historia*, 21 (1972), pp. 371-9, esp. p. 376 ; cf. WILLIAMS and FRIELL (*supra* n. 223), pp. 34-5 ; ERRINGTON, *Chiron*, 26 (1996), pp. 14-5. Some of these people may have been senators. If so, the Constantinopolitan Senate may have been the focus of this discontent about Themistius and his appointment to high office for AD 384 : WILLIAMS and FRIELL, p. 34 ; ERRINGTON, *Chiron*, 26 (1996), p. 15 ; cf. PAVAN, p. 30.

(239) These speeches are *Orations* 17, 31 and 34. For these orations see SCHOLZE, pp. 54-62 ; MÉRIDIER, pp. 87-112 ; PAVAN, 29-41 ; DAGRON, *TM*, 3 (1968), pp. 49-60 ; VANDERSPOEL, pp. 208-15 ; SMEAL, 33-42 ; PENELLA, *Themistius*, pp. 34-40 ; SCHNEIDER (*supra* n. 232), *passim*. For the text of these orations see DOWNEY and NORMAN, I, pp. 305-9 : *Oration* 17 ; II, pp. 187-92 : *Oration* 31 ; pp. 211-32 : *Oration* 34.

was over the issue of a philosopher exercising political duties rather than pursuing philosophy as a private individual away from political life ([240]). Yet Themistius' admission in *Oration* 31 that much of his opposition resided in the Senate of Constantinople ([241]) and the bitterness of the dispute as he presents it in this oration suggest that Themistius faced political rivalry rather than an intellectual debate over the proper role of a philosopher in society. Although some senators appear to have used the argument of contemporary intellectuals against Themistius' taking the prefectship of AD 384, jealousy appears to be the true motivation for their opposition to Themistius' appointment ([242]). But Themistius was a holdover from the age of Constantius II and Valens in the quite different era of Theodosius I, and one suspects that many senators of more recent admittance to the eastern senate wished for a change of leadership and the end of Themistius' control over the activities of the Senate as Prefect and perhaps even as *Princeps senatus*. But Themistius does not address the specific concerns of his opponents in these speeches. Nor does he explain in *Oration* 34 the circumstances of his refusal of an urban prefectship from an earlier emperor and their relationship to his situation at the time of his term of office in AD 384. He also does not address the factionalism in the senate suggested by imperial recruiting policies for senators and by the succession of eastern urban prefects in the reigns of Valens and Theodosius I. He only presents a self-centered defense that as a philosopher he had the right to take the urban prefectship of AD 384. Thus, Themistius masks the true nature of the opposition he encountered concerning this office with a rhetorical argumentation of his standard theory of the relationship of philosophy and government. Hence, the literal presentation of the speeches hides the realities of Themistius' unsuccessful office under Theodosius I, and the modern historian cannot formulate a

(240) MÉRIDIER, pp. 87-112 ; DAGRON, *TM*, 3 (1968), pp. 49-54 ; SMEAL, pp. 33-42.

(241) MÉRIDIER, pp. 93-4, 99-100 ; DAGRON, *TM*, 3 (1968), p. 49 ; SMEAL, pp. 35-6 ; cf. PENELLA, *Themistius*, p. 36.

(242) PENELLA, *Themistius*, p. 36 : "If this [Themistius' claim that philosophy induced him to take the urban prefectship of AD 384] sounds too good to be true, the same should also be said for the high moral ground that Themistius' critics took : they were undoubtedly his political rivals and opponents" ; cf. SMEAL, p. 36 ; MÉRIDIER, p. 99.

clear view of the orator's opposition and its true nature in these speeches or how it developed over several years ([243]).

The reader must exercise caution whenever Themistius discusses any topic in these speeches, especially his political career. Since he choses to defend himself by insisting that he had always pursued political activity appropriate for a philosopher, he tries to present his entire career as an imperial agent in Constantinople and its senate within the context of traditional Hellenic civic life and a philosopher's service to his home city. He therefore accentuates aspects of his career that were in line with contemporary notions of acceptable political action for philosophers in service to their local city and its senate, such as the many embassies that he undertook in the service of the eastern capital and its senate (*Or.* 17, 214b ; cf. *Or.* 31, 352d and *Or.* 34. 13, 29), his restoration of the traditional annona to the city in the late AD 350s that had been reduced by a half as a result of a riot in AD 342 (*Or.* 34, 13), and his gaining honors for the Constantinopolitan Senate on his trip to the western capital c. AD 376 to attend Gratian's *decennalia* (*Or.* 34, 29). He also cloaks the facts of his career's basis in imperial support and service by using terminology in reference to his political career that is appropriate for local civic activity within the Hellenic tradition. Thus, he calls his service in the Senate of Constantinople a λειτουργία owed to the city (*Or.* 31, 352d), a term which recalls the obligations of a contemporary *curialis* to his home city and its senate ([244]). In addition, he refers to his traditional leadership of the Constantinopolitan senate as a προστασία (*Or.* 34, 13) and his prefectship of AD 384 as a πολιαρχία (*Or.* 17, 214b), terms evocative of traditional service to a πόλις and its βουλή, rather than δυναστεία, a common term for the power or authority of an imperial official, or ἐπαρχία, the regular term for the urban prefecture as an office in the imperial bureaucracy ([245]). Such use of terminology confuses the civic and imperial elements of the position of urban prefect but permits Themistius to argue that his prefectship of AD 384 was one that was acceptable to

(243) DAGRON, *Naissance*, p. 253 : "Les démêlés de Thémistios avec ses collègues paraîtraient artificiels et dérisoires si quelques détails n'indiquaient au contraire que sa préfecture est l'object d'un vrai débat institutionnel".

(244) M. M. MUDD, *Aspects of the Internal Government of the Later Roman Empire in the Reign of Constantius II. A.D. 337-361* (dissertation, Rutgers U.), New Brunswick, NJ, 1984, pp. 185-6.

(245) For these terms see MASON, pp. 31, 40, 45, 81, 76-7.

traditional Hellenic ideas concerning a philosopher's participation in politics against his opponents in the Senate and in the broader public at Constantinople ([246]). Yet such presentation on the orator's part cannot conceal the fact that the eastern urban prefecture was an important imperial office, that the city he served was an imperial capital or that his ambition rather than the promotion of philosophy was the primary incentive for his public career. Themistius' false claim that he was born in Constantinople and had spent his entire life and career in the city dedicated to its betterment (*Or.* 17, 214c ; *Or.* 34, 12) shows how forced his argument is and how much he sacrifices the truth of his career for the sake of his argument in these speeches ([247]).

Hence, one should be skeptical of Themistius' presentation in these orations of his prefectship of AD 384 as the culmination of a steadily ascending career of thirty years' service to Constantinople and its Senate, especially in *Oration* 34, Chapters 12-14. Themistius' affirmation of his steadily rising career strains the belief of the reader. A politician could not maintain a continually ascending career for thirty years amid the unstable conditions of the Eastern Roman Empire during the latter half of the fourth century AD. Themistius' thwarted attempts to govern the eastern capital under both Valens and Theodosius I argue against his claim of having sustained an ascending career. The discrepancy between Themistius' presentation of his career in these orations and the vicissitudes of his office holding underscore the basic strategy that he adopts in these speeches and the difficulty that a reader has in accepting their

(246) *Supra* n. 207 and text discussion.

(247) Themistius was born in Paphlagonia c. AD 317 (*Or.* 2, 28d) and did not arrive at Constantinople until he studied in the city c. 337. He taught outside Constantinople, probably at a number of different positions, during the AD 340s ; he took a chair of philosophy at the eastern capital c. AD 348/49 ; cf. SMEAL, pp. 6-9. Thus, THEMISTIUS cannot truthfully say as he does in *Oration* 17, 214c, that he was a native of the city who grew up and was a resident his entire life there : οὐκ ἔπηλυν οὐδὲ ὀθνεῖον...ἀλλ' ἐγγενῆ καὶ ἐντεθραμμένον ὑμῖν καὶ ἐναυξηθέντα καὶ ἐνοικοῦντα. In addition, although Themistius was adlected into the Constantinopolitan senate in AD 355, his brief journey to Antioch in 356 at the request of the orator Libanius and the Praetorian Prefect of the East Strategius to take up teaching in the Syrian capital demonstrates less than total commitment to Constantinople : SMEAL, p. 11. Only Themistius' proconsulship and his recruitment of senators for the eastern senate in the late AD 350s that established him as leader of the Senate of Constantinople permanently settled the ambitious Themistius in the eastern capital ; cf. SMEAL, pp. 11-4.

literal presentation. Themistius tailors the presentation of his political career in these orations so that his prefectship of AD 384 appears to be the proper reward for his long career as a philosopher in politics given by the only emperor of his age who respected philosophy. Themistius is clearly on the defensive in these orations, and he uses the medium of rhetoric and a distorted presentation of his career to defend himself against the hostility of his senatorial colleagues and the criticism that they and others were making about his role as a philosopher in the public life of the eastern capital. It is not surprising that some modern observers are not persuaded by his arguments in these orations ([248]) ; his contemporary critics would have found his defense even less satisfactory.

Moreover, Themistius' reliance on Theodosius I for his continued position in imperial affairs and the senate is clearly seen in *Orations* 17, 31 and 34. His reference several times to Theodosius I's bringing back philosophy to the Roman state and society (*Or.* 17, 213c-215d *passim* ; *Or.* 34, 7), his assertion that it was his duty to serve such a ruler as Prefect (*Or.* 17, 214c-d ; *Or.* 34, 15-16), his insistence that the Senate should accept him as Theodosius' nominee to govern the city prefecture (*Or.* 17, 215d ; *Or.* 31, 355a), his claim that he modeled his administration as Prefect on Theodosius' enlightened government (*Or.* 34, 10-11), and his long panegyric to Theodosius in *Oration* 34 (17-30) show how much he relied on Theodosius for his continued political survival in a milieu that was increasingly hostile to him. Such subservience has an effect on Themistius' presentation of his official career that is generally not recognized. The orator's lack of mentioning the offices that he held under earlier emperors is done out of deference to the emperor who he claims restored philosophy to the rule of the Empire and according to his rhetorical argument that he had accepted the office of urban prefect for AD 384 only because it was offered by the philosophically-inclined Theodosius. Hence, the orator does not acknowledge his proconsulship of the late AD 350s ([249]). The reader must remember that Themistius in these

(248) MÉRIDIER, p. 109 : "ses explications sont fort obscures, et cette obscurité doit tenir à l'embarras qu'il éprouve". MATTHEWS, *Western Aristocracies*, p. 117 : "Themistius' defense of the consistency of his political actions is not thoroughly convincing". VANDERSPOEL, p. 210 : "*Oration* 31 is weak and does not answer the charges".

(249) Only a few observers record this omission : MÉRIDIER, p. 90 ; cf. SIEVERS, p. 214. This omission is cited by those who do not believe that

speeches is trying to save his faltering career by a close association with the reigning emperor at the expense of the truth of his several offices under Theodosius' predecessors ([250]). The modern reader cannot expect Themistius to report a true record of his office holding in these speeches any more than any other aspect of his political career.

It should be noted that the orator seems to have failed in his attempt to shore up his failing career by his strategy of establishing a close tie to Theodosius I. After AD 384 Themistius is not heard of again in imperial affairs and only one reference is made to him in passing in Libanius' correspondence a few years later ([251]). Theodosius was no doubt pressured by his followers and led by his own preference to promote his partisans as eastern urban prefects ; Themistius' earliest known successor in that office was Nebridius, a Spanish relative and a palatine official of Theodosius ([252]). Theodosius soon came under the influence of other counselors, especially the Christian Cynegius ([253]). The other senators of Themistius' faction likewise pass from political prominence and did again administer the eastern urban prefecture ([254]). It is ironic that scholars generally consider Themistius' urban prefectship under Theodosius I to be the "high point" of the orator's career ([255]) ; in reality it represents

Themistius was Proconsul of Constantinople in the late AD 350s : DAGRON, *TM*, 3 (1968), pp. 213-7.

(250) For the argument that policy differences between Theodosius and his predecessors also compels Themistius to conceal the offices that he held under earlier emperors see BRAUCH, *Byz.*, 71, 2 (2001), n. 8 and text discussion.

(251) LIBANIUS, *Letter* 18 to Calliopius (AD 388) ; cf. VANDERSPOEL, p. 215 ; DAGRON, *TM*, 3 (1968), p. 12 n. 66.

(252) DAGRON, *Naissance*, pp. 253-4 ; MATTHEWS, *Western Aristocracies*, pp. 109-11.

(253) PIGANIOL, p. 273. For Cynegius see MATTHEWS, *Eastern Aristocracies*, pp. 110-1, and pp. 140-2 and literature cited p. 140 n. 1.

(254) Sophronius at least maintained some prominence. LIBANIUS sent two letters to him afterward, one a letter of recommendation for an associate (*Let.* 883 from AD 388) and the other a petition to help his teaching assistant Thalassius enter the eastern senate (*Let.* 924 from AD 390) : PETIT, *Les fonctionnaires*, p. 232.

(255) E.g. PAVAN, p. 29 : "Certo è che con il conferimento di tale carica l'impegno politico di Temistio raggiunge l'acme" ; B. COLPI, *Die Παιδεία des Themistios*, Bern, Frankfurt and New York, 1988, p. 15 : "Unter Theodosius gelangte er auf den Hohepunkt seiner politischen Laufbahn, er wurde praefectus urbis (384)" ; B. BALDWIN, *Themistios*, *ODB*, p. 2036 : "Theodosius I crowned his career in 384 by appointing him prefect of the capital".

the collapse of Themistius' ascendancy in the eastern senate, his demise from political prominence in Constantinople and ultimately the end of his career. A careful study of the last surviving speeches of Themistius as well as an open-minded examination of allusions to Themistius' office holding in the *Souda* and the *Greek Anthology* will not sustain the traditional presentation of the orator's career. The traditional outline of Themistius' career will have to be substantially revised.

Only a brief sketch of a reconstructed public career of Themistius can be given here. The *floruit* of Themistius' career was the two decades after AD 355 and his admission into the eastern senate. During those years Themistius enjoyed a close relationship with the emperors Constantius II, Julian ([256]) and Valens that included holding an office in Constantinople under each emperor, a proconsulship of the capital under Constantius II and an urban prefectship of the city under Julian and Valens. If any "high points" are evident during Themistius' ascendency, these would be the reigns of Julian and Valens when the orator's close relationship with both emperors permitted him to argue against their persecution of religious opponents ([257]). In terms of his political activities and influence, however, the reign of Valens represents the apex of Themistius' public career ([258]). Nevertheless, Themistius' political eminence was undercut even under Valens as the emperor's adherents came into prominence in the eastern senate. It appears that at some point in the last eight years of Valens' rule Themistius' bid for another prefectship of the eastern capital was foiled by a more recently enrolled senator's successful bid for that office. The decline of Themistius' political fortunes continued and reached a crisis under Theodosius I. Not even Theodosius' expressed support saved the orator from being forced out of his last governance of the eastern urban prefecture by his senatorial colleagues. The opposition of recently enrolled senators seems to have ended Themistius' supremacy in the eastern senate at that time. The end of Themistius' political influence in

(256) For the close and positive relationship between Themistius and Julian throughout Julian's life and reign see T. BRAUCH, *Themistius and the Emperor Julian*, in *Byz.*, 63 (1993), pp. 81-106.

(257) Witness to Themistius' oppositon to Julian's treatment of Christians is found in Arabic sources : BRAUCH, *Byz.*, 63 (1993), p. 105. For Themistius' dissent from Valens' persecution of Nicene Christians see *supra* n. 180.

(258) *Supra* nn. 177-80 and text discussion.

imperial affairs came when Theodosius turned to Christian advisors. By AD 385 the thirty-year poltical career of Themistius was at an end. It would appear that Themistius was ultimately a casualty of the Christian Empire that he had so long and faithfully served.

The conclusions of this study are as follows. Further textual and historical considerations support the identity and succession of the eastern urban prefects for the years AD 366 to 369 made by the author in a previous article appearing in this journal ([259]). This study provides a more precise dating for these three prefectships. Caesarius, the prefect for AD 365, was restored to office after the Procopius revolt, probably by November of 366, and remained in office until spring of 367. Sophronius succeeded him around April of AD 367 when Valens and the imperial party left the capital for the Gothic War of the late 360s. Themistius replaced Sophronius in April of AD 368 and remained in office until March or April of 369 when Domitius Modestus succeeded him.

This study has ramifications for the careers of two individuals discussed within it. The letters of Gregory of Nazianzus show that prior to his mastership of the AD 370s Sophronius held a vicariate and an urban prefectship in the late 360s. These new offices will necessitate a reappraisal of his career ([260]). Sophronius' career is noteworthy for its unusual elements of office holding, including the sequence of his offices and the length of tenure of his mastership of the offices in the AD 370s. In addition, this study shows the difficulties of Themistius' presentation of his career in his last speeches and the need to consult other sources to reconstruct his public career. This essay has presented a new outline of Themistius' career that is based on evidence from his oratory and contemporary Greek and later Byzantine and Arabic sources concerning Themistius. This new configuration of Themistius' career is also more in accordance with the political realities of the Eastern Roman Empire and its capital in the late fourth century AD than the traditional presentation of the orator's career.

This study may also contribute to the study of Constantinople itself in the late AD 360s. A succession of three Prefects of Constaninople has been tentatively established for further study of the governance of the city during these years. Moreover, a judicial matter concerning Gregory of

(259) *Supra* n. 21.

(260) The present author is preparing a prosopographical study of Sophronius.

Nazianzus' cousin Amphilochius seems to have been one concern of these prefects. In addition, the letters of Gregory of Nazianzus upon which the identity and sequence of these prefects are based show that Valens was able to achieve enough peace and stability in Constantinople and vicinity relatively soon after the suppression of the Procopius revolt to permit the usual operation of official patronage and influence to flourish in and around the capital. Moreover, the undisturbed annual succession of these prefects demonstrates the success that Valens and the imperial party had in re-establishing a stable order in the city and their ability to reinstate balance and the usual interactions between senate and emperor at Constantinople. The succession of Themistius to the city's governance in AD 368 is perhaps the most representative occurence in both of these processes.

One further point about Themistius should be made. Recent and forthcoming modern language translations of Themistius' speeches ([261]) and research on Themistius' oratory and career ([262]) will soon set the study of Themistius on a new foundation. Future study will need to take into account the problems concerning Themistius' last speeches caused by their rhetorical program and the orator's close association with Theodosius I evident in their texts. At the present time, a modern scholar

(261) R. MAISANO, *Discorsi di Temistio,* Turin, 1995, all the orations ; H. LEPPIN and W. PORTMANN, *Themistios : Staatsreden,* Stuttgart, 1998, *Orations* 1-19 ; R. J. PENELLA, *The Private Orations of Themistius*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 2000, *Orations* 20-34, *Oration* 17 and the *Demegoria Constantii.* D. MONCUR will publish translations of several of Themistius' public speeches ; part of his translation of *Oration* 8 and his full translation of *Oration* 10 appear in HEATHER and MATTHEWS (*supra* n. 87), pp. 26-50. See also J. G. SMEAL, *Themistios : the Twenty-Third Oration* (dissertation, Vanderbilt U.), Nashville, Tn., 1989, and J. M. SUGARS, *Themistius' Seventh Oration* (dissertation, U. of California), Irvine, 1997.

(262) J. VANDERSPOEL, *Themistius and the Imperial Court,* Ann Arbor, 1995, provides a good chronological exposition of Themistius' life, career and oratory. SUGARS' dissertation (*supra* n. 261) should be consulted for the background of Themistius' prefectship of AD 368 (although Sugars does not believe that Themistius was Prefect in that year) and SMEAL's dissertation (*supra* n. 261) is valuable for its discussion of the sophistic elements of much of Themistius' oratory defending his participation in public affairs. The bibliographies of the works cited in this and the previous note will provide a comprehensive and up to date source list for the study of Themistius' public career.

can only read between the lines of these speeches to discover the political opposition that Themistius encountered at the end of his political career ; the circumstances of these speeches need further investigation. But other aspects of the personal and political influence of Themistius need examination, particularly his role as patron at Constantinople ([263]). Hence, provision must be made to consider Themistius as a senator, imperial official and patron of great influence. Themistius' ambition should also receive its proper emphasis as a motivation for his public career. The figure of Themistius in the twenty-first century should appear quite different from the Themistius of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the view of the present writer a consideration of Themistius' office holding under a number of eastern emperors and a far more critical reading than traditionally given of Themistius' late speeches in defense of his public career should be the bases of any revision of that career.

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(263) BROWN, *Philosopher and Society*, p. 7. Themistius' activity as a patron can be studied primarily in the letters of Libanius to the orator (*supra* nn. 194-5). The text of these letters can be found with commentary in H. F. BOUCHERY, ed., *Themistius in Libanius' Brieven,* Antwerp, 1936.

ANNE-EUPHÉMIANOS, L'ÉPOUSE DEVENUE EUNUQUE :

CONTINUITÉ ET ÉVOLUTION D'UN MODÈLE HAGIOGRAPHIQUE

INTRODUCTION

Parmi les nombreux clichés qui peuplent l'hagiographie grecque, il en est un, celui de la sainte travestie (1) qui connut, au moins pendant les quelques siècles de la première époque byzantine (2), un succès assez

(1) Pour une étude du thème des saintes travesties, cfr Jane ANSON, *The Female Transvestite in Early Monasticism : the Origin and Development of a Motif*, dans *Viator*, 5 (1974), pp. 1-32 (cité ANSON, *The Female Transvestite*) ; Marie DELCOURT, *Le complexe de Diane dans l'hagiographie chrétienne*, dans *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 13 (1958), pp. 1-37 (cité DELCOURT, *Le complexe de Diane*) ; Nathalie DELIERNEUX, *Virilité physique et sainteté féminine dans l'hagiographie orientale du IV^e^ au VII^e^ siècle*, dans *Byz.*, 67 (1997), pp. 179-243 (cité DELIERNEUX, *Virilité physique et sainteté féminine*) ; Évelyne PATLAGEAN, *L'histoire de la femme déguisée en moine et l'évolution de la sainteté à Byzance*, dans *Studi Medievali*, 17 (1976), pp. 597-623 (cité PATLAGEAN, *L'histoire de la femme déguisée en moine*) ; Kary VOGT, *The «Woman Monk : a Theme in Byzantine Hagiography*, dans *Greece and Gender*, ed. by B. BERGGREEN and M. MARINATOS, Bergen, 1995, p. 141-8 (*Papers for the Norwegian Institute at Athens*, 2) (cité VOGT, *The Woman Monk*), ainsi que l'article tout récent de S. SCHEIN, *The 'Female-Men of God' and 'Man who were Women'. Female Saints and Holy Land Pilgrimage during the Byzantine Period*, dans *Hagiographica*, 5 (1998), pp. 1-37 (cité SCHEIN, *The Female-Men of God*).

(2) Pour l'essentiel, la période de rédaction des textes illustrant ce motif s'étend du IV^e^ au VII^e^ s. (PATLAGEAN, *L'histoire de la femme déguisée en moine*, p. 603). Pour la période postérieure, outre le cas d'Anne, qui fait l'objet de cette étude, un exemple existe pour le X^e^ s., celui d'Euphrosyne la Jeune, qui vécut sous le règne de Léon VI. Le texte de sa *Vie* ne nous est malheureusement connu que dans une version remaniée de Nicéphore Calliste, au début du XIV^e^ s. et la sainte n'est pas mentionnée dans le *Synaxaire*, peut-être parce que son culte a pris son essor dans le courant du X^e^ s., au moment de la rédaction de celui-ci (DELEHAYE, *Vita S. Euphrosynae*, dans *AASS*, Nov. III, 1910, p. 861 (cité *Vie d'Euphrosyne la Jeune*)). Cependant, j'aurai l'occasion au cours de cette étude d'évoquer fréquemment ce texte à titre de comparaison puisque c'est lui qui,

appréciable : pour diverses raisons, dont la principale demeure la préservation de sa virginité menacée par un mariage, une jeune fille ou une femme décide de quitter sa famille et de revêtir des habits d'homme pour s'en aller vivre parmi des moines. Le plus souvent, ceux-ci ne découvrent la vérité qu'à sa mort.

Si dans l'ensemble, la douzaine de récits concernant ces travesties est construite selon un schéma relativement identique, une analyse plus approfondie de chaque exemple permet de nuancer quelque peu une vision trop figée et universaliste de ce thème du travestissement féminin dans le monde chrétien d'Orient.

En effet, loin de se limiter à une répétition mécanique et sans vie de clichés antérieurs, les auteurs, de plus en plus conscients au fil des siècles des critiques que peut susciter le comportement extraordinaire de leur héroïne (3), prennent soin de mettre de son côté suffisamment d'arguments et de justifications pour démontrer son orthodoxie, en adaptant également leur narration aux exigences culturelles et sociales de leur époque (4).

Dans cette double perspective, la narration concernant Anne surnommée Euphémianos (5), une travestie qui vit à la fin VIII[e] s. puisqu'elle est contemporaine des empereurs Constantin et Irène et du patriarche

dans sa rédaction originelle du moins, demeure chronologiquement le plus proche de la notice concernant Anne.

(3) Le premier de ces reproches concerne la transgression par ces saintes de *Deutéronome* XXII, 5, selon lequel une chrétienne ne peut revêtir l'habit de l'autre sexe (DELCOURT, *Le complexe de Diane*, p. 3 ; DELIERNEUX, *Virilité physique et sainteté féminine*, p. 202-4 et 209-10 ; PATLAGEAN, *L'histoire de la femme déguisée en moine*, p. 606).

(4) DELIERNEUX, *Virilité physique et sainteté féminine*, pp. 209-225. Comme l'a encore tout récemment fait remarquer M. VAN UYTFANGHE, *Le remploi dans l'hagiographie : une 'loi du genre' qui étouffe l'originalité ?*, dans *Ideologie e pratiche del reimpiego nell'alto medioevo, 16-21 aprile 1998*, I, (*Settimane di Studio*, XLVI), Spolète, 1999, p. 360 (cité VAN UYTFANGHE, *Le remploi dans l'hagiographie*), le texte hagiographique est généralement un meilleur reflet de l'époque de l'hagiographe que de celle du saint concerné.

(5) Sur Anne, v. J. BAUDOT et CHAUSSIN, *Vie des saints et des bienheureux*, X, octobre, Paris, 1952, p. 968 ; A. B. C. DUNBAR, *St. Anne Euphemian*, dans *Dictionary of the Saintly Women*, I, Londres, 1904, p. 69 ; M. JAPUNDŽIĆ, *Anne la Giovanne*, dans *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, I (1961), col. 1305 ; T. ORTOLAN, *Anne (3)*, dans *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, 3 (1924), col. 315-6 (cité ORTOLAN, *Anne*) ; M. DE SIMONOS-PETRAS, *Le Synaxaire : vies des saints de l'Église orthodoxe*, I, adapt. franç. par M. de S.-P., Thessalonique, 1987, pp. 382-383 (cité SIMONOS-PETRAS, *Le Synaxaire*).

Taraise ([6]), présente plusieurs caractéristiques intéressantes que j'examinerai dans les pages qui vont suivre.

De par son isolement par rapport au cadre chronologique évoqué plus haut, le texte concernant Anne la Jeune ([7]) qui, dans son état actuel, ne nous est parvenu que dans un seul manuscrit du *Synaxaire* de Constantinople ([8]), conservé à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris et datant du XIV[e] s. ([9]), n'a pas suscité beaucoup d'intérêt auprès des chercheurs. Dans les études de base que j'ai citées ([10]), seuls J. Anson et É. Patlagean mentionnent brièvement son nom. Encore est-ce, dans le cas de J. Anson, sur base de la traduction latine moderne des *Acta Sanctorum* ([11]), que l'auteur déclare par ailleurs omettre de sa discussion en raison de son caractère trop vague ([12]). Pour sa part, É. Patlagean cite le texte grec du *Synaxaire* et note avec justesse que le modèle d'Anne se rattache encore, par son contenu, à l'époque où la série s'est élaborée ; néanmoins elle choisit également de ne pas analyser le récit en profondeur, à cause de son caractère trop tardif ([13]).

Je ne pense pas que ces raisons suffisent à ôter au récit d'Anne son intérêt religieux, historique et social. Le caractère tardif du manuscrit et de la sainte elle-même ne peut nullement suffire de critère d'exclusion valable ([14]). Dans le cas qui nous occupe, il importe surtout de

(6) H. DELEHAYE, *Acta Sanctorum Propyleum Novembris* (Bruxelles, 1902), p. 174, 23-5 ; p. 176, 30-1 (cité *Vie d'Anne*).

(7) Anne est qualifiée de «jeune» dans une autre mention plus ancienne du *Synaxaire* (p. 170, 18-20), très courte, qui signale simplement, à la date du 28 octobre : «Et mémoire de notre sainte mère Anne la Jeune, fille de Jean, diacre de l'église des Blachernes». Ce passage, par sa brièveté, ne nous apporte aucune information supplémentaire sur la sainte et ne semble guère pouvoir, malgré sa date antérieure, être considéré comme le point de départ de notre notice, comme il me l'a été suggéré ; plus vraissemblablement, elle dérive comme elle de la *Vie* originale.

(8) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 174, 16-178, 46.

(9) Sur le manuscrit, cfr H. DELEHAYE, *Acta Sanctorum Propyleum Novembris*, Bruxelles, 1902, col. XXXVIII-XXXIX (cité DELEHAYE, *Acta Sanctorum*) ; cfr PATLAGEAN, *L'histoire de la femme déguisée en moine*, p. 600.

(10) Cfr *supra*, n. 1.

(11) *AASS*, Oct. XII, Bruxelles, 1867 (réimpr. anastatique Bruxelles, 1970), pp. 914-916 et n. a, p. 917.

(12) ANSON, *The Female Transvestite*, p. 29 et n. 71.

(13) PATLAGEAN, *L'histoire de la femme déguisée en moine*, pp. 602-603.

(14) H. DELEHAYE, *Le Synaxaire de Sirmond*, dans *AB*, 14 (1895), p. 403 (cité DELEHAYE, *Synaxaires byzantins*).

considérer la notice du *Synaxaire* comme le reflet d'une source hagiographique aujourd'hui disparue ([15]) et de l'étudier comme tel, sans bien sûr perdre de vue les précautions qu'impose le caractère indirect du témoignage.

La difficulté majeure d'un tel examen consiste sans aucun doute à évaluer jusqu'à quel point la notice est un résumé fidèle du texte original de la *Vie* et de déterminer si les informations qu'il nous propose sont réellement le fait de l'hagiographe ou constituent au contraire une interprétation personnelle du compilateur. De même, les silences par rapport aux narrations précédentes concernant des travesties peuvent être la conséquence du travail de résumé ou inversément, avoir été initialement pesés et calculés par l'auteur dans un dessein bien précis.

À ce stade, un regard jeté sur les autres notices du *Synaxaire* concernant les travesties vient quelque peu éclairer la recherche ([16]). En effet, si les compilateurs résument parfois fortement le texte de base ou précisent ça et là l'un ou l'autre point, l'on contate qu'ils lui laissent cependant ses grands axes et ne suppriment aucune des données essentielles du récit, même quand il s'agit d'aspects qui ne correspondent guère aux schémas chrétiens d'orthodoxie.

Par ailleurs, le type de sainteté d'Anne semble parfaitement correspondre, j'y reviendrai, aux modèles qui apparaissent dans d'autres textes hagiographiques des IX^e^-X^e^ s., période de rédaction de la *Vie* originelle ([17]) et il est peu plausible d'imaginer le rédacteur du *Synaxaire* remettre au goût du passé un texte qui lui aurait paru trop peu correspondre aux modèles spirituels antérieurs ([18]).

(15) FR. HALKIN, *Avant-propos*, dans DELEHAYE, *Synaxaires byzantins*, p. I.

(16) L. CLUGNET, *Vie et récits de l'abbé Daniel de Scété* 2 et 10, dans *ROC*, 5 (1900), pp. 57-59 (Anastasie la Patrice) ; pp. 380-384 (Athanasia, femme d'Andronique) ; DELEHAYE, *Acta Sanctorum*, pp. 33-35, 1 (Théodora d'Alexandrie) ; pp. 58-59, 2 (Susanne) ; pp. 77-78, 3 (Euphrosyne) ; p. 120, 3 (Pélagie) ; pp. 203-205, 1 (Matrone) ; pp. 369-372, 1 (Apollinaria).

(17) La *Vie* a nécessairement dû être écrite entre la mort de la sainte, sans doute au tout début du IX^e^ s. et la rédation du plus ancien témoin du *Synaxaire* qui la mentionne, dans la seconde moitié du X^e^. Selon É. PATLAGEAN, *L'histoire de la femme déguisée en moine*, p. 600, n. 17), le texte original date très probablement de la première moitié du IX^e^ s., un point sur lequel j'aurai l'occasion de revenir.

(18) L'auteur même du *Synaxaire* affirme qu'il désire présenter des faits distants dans le temps comme s'ils étaient présents (DELEHAYE, *Acta Sanctorum*, col. XIV).

Ces quelques éléments, s'ils demeurent relativement aléatoires, semblent néanmoins autoriser la lecture de la notice du *Synaxaire* comme un témoin valable et relativement fidèle de ce qu'a pu être à l'origine le texte de la *Vie* d'Anne. Comme le note M. van Uytfanghe pour l'Occident, l'évolution et les variations d'un *topos*, qui ne prend sa signification que dans une série, exigent une étude contextuelle ([19]). Puisque la *Vie* d'Anne paraît présenter encore bon nombre de caractéristiques communes aux modèles antérieurs, ce n'est qu'en replaçant la narration du *Synaxaire* d'une part dans le cadre chronologique plus vaste de l'ensemble des exemples connus et d'autre part dans le contexte général de l'hagiographie des IX^e^ et X^e^ s. que ses caractéristiques pourront être analysées en toute connaissance de cause et que sa fidélité à la source de départ pourra de façon convaincante être admise ou réfutée.

Veuvage et travestissement

Avant d'entreprendre notre recherche, il convient de fournir la traduction de la notice du *Synaxaire* concernant Anne la Jeune, afin de faciliter la tâche du lecteur.

> Notre sainte mère Anne est née à Byzance d'un pieux diacre ([20]) du temple de la très Sainte Marie mère de Dieu des Blachernes. À la mort de ses parents, sa grand-mère souhaita la marier à un homme plein de foi, ce qui fut fait. Mais son oncle, un homme consacré à l'ascèse et également très perspicace, qui, bien qu'il eut eu sa langue coupée sous l'iconoclaste Léon, parlait encore sans embarras après la mutilation, vint du Mont Olympe et lorsqu'il apprit qu'elle avait été unie à un homme, déclara : «Pour quelle raison l'avez-vous mariée à un homme, elle qui tournait ses yeux vers les luttes et les peines divines ?» Il pria pour elle puis s'en alla.

(19) M. van Uytfanghe, *Le remploi dans l'hagiographie*, p. 398.

(20) Celui-ci s'appelait Jean, si l'on en croit l'autre notice du *Synaxaire* concernant Anne (cfr *supra*, n. 7). L'omission de ce prénom dans notre texte me semble un argument supplémentaire pour ne pas faire de la mention brève son point de départ : si le compilateur de la *VAnne* n'avait eu à sa disposition que les quelques lignes de ses prédécesseurs, il eut été assez paradoxal de sa part d'ôter ce détail d'une mention déjà si brève, alors qu'il s'apprêtait par ailleurs à développer le récit de façon appréciable.

Quelques années se passèrent et une fois cet empereur impie (i. e. Léon IV) tombé dans les resserres de l'enfer, Irène et Constantin, les orthodoxes et très fidèles empereurs, firent venir le saint homme. Lorsqu'ils eurent appris tout ce qu'il avait enduré de leur impérial prédécesseur, ils reçurent sa bénédiction et ses prières. Et une fois ces événements accomplis selon la volonté de Dieu, le saint repartit chez lui.

Comme il avait alors revu la sainte, il lui dit : «Sois courageuse et forte, mon enfant, car il est beaucoup d'épreuves pour les justes. Sache qu'avant que l'enfant que tu portes dans ton ventre ne soit né, tu conduiras ton époux dans la tombe». Et cela arriva : six mois après la conception, son mari mourut. Elle se lamenta beaucoup et se consuma dans un grand chagrin puis elle cessa d'allaiter son enfant, le remit entre les mains d'un autre de ses oncles et revêtit les combats spirituels. Quels furent leur nombre et leur intensité, les initiés et ceux qui se sont lancés dans le remarquable stade ascétique le savent.

Tandis qu'elle se trouvait dans cette situation, l'homme très sage arriva du Mont Olympe. Elle tomba à ses pieds en demandant sa bénédiction et cet homme admirable lui dit : «Fortifie-toi dans le Seigneur, ma fille» ; puis il questionna : «Où est l'enfant ?» Elle répondit : «L'un est chez ton frère, après Dieu mon soutien, l'autre est avec moi». Et après avoir prononcé ces paroles et d'autres avec une âme troublée et d'amères lamentations, elle confia ses deux enfants au vénérable vieillard et le supplia en pleurant : «Prie, vénérable père, pour mes enfants». Il répondit : «Ils n'ont pas besoin de prière».

Ces mots frappèrent lourdement ses oreilles, et elle gémit au fond de son cœur : «Malheur au pécheur ! Que va-t-il à nouveau m'arriver ?» Le saint lui répondit : «Ne t'ai-je pas dit, mon enfant, qu'il est beaucoup d'épreuves pour les justes ? Si nous ne les endurons pas, nous ne serons pas un jour considérés comme tels. Ainsi est ce qui plaît et est agréable à Dieu». Elle : «Père, le Seigneur n'aurait-il pas décidé le transfert de mes jeunes enfants vers les sphères célestes ?» Et l'homme admirable répondit : «Tu dis vrai ; sous peu en effet, le Maître les prendra loin de toi». Après avoir comme il est naturel rendu grâce à Dieu, Anne se jeta aux pieds du vénérable vieillard et après avoir reçu sa prière, commença à distribuer ses biens de ses mains. Ses enfants moururent peu après ; elle versa des larmes pour eux et distribua les biens qui lui restaient puis elle commença à faire le tour des églises, en apportant la lumière et en embrassant la rigueur. Finalement, elle rencontra un moine du Mont Olympe. Elle fut tonsurée par lui, revêtit en cachette un habit d'homme, après avoir rejeté l'habit féminin et bientôt, secrètement, elle arriva au Mont Olympe, débarrassée du vêtement féminin.

Arrivée à l'un des monastères, elle entra et, rencontrant le portier, lui dit en premier lieu qu'elle désirait voir l'abbé. Selon la coutume, le portier annonça à ce dernier que quelqu'un venait le voir et sortit après avoir fait entrer Anne. La très vénérable femme se tint aux pieds de l'abbé. Après avoir demandé la prière habituelle et l'avoir reçue de cet homme, celui-ci la releva et dit : «Pourquoi es-tu venu vers nous et quel est ton nom ?» Elle répondit : «Saint père, la cause de ma venue dans ce saint monastère est la foule des péchés qui me pressent, pour que, connaissant la tranquilité pendant le temps qu'il me reste à vivre, je reçoive la pitié du Seigneur au jour du jugement, même si j'en suis indigne. Je me nomme Euphémianos». Le vieillard lui dit : «Mon enfant, si tel est le raisonnement de ton cœur et si tu aspires au salut, fuis la liberté de langage. En effet, la nature des eunuques est facilement saisie par des discours passionnés». Sur ces mots, il acheva la prière habituelle puis la compta au nombre de la fraternité. Elle progressa à ce point et s'abandonna aux efforts qui se trouvaient devant elle en toute vertu et humilité, de sorte qu'elle devint pour tous les moines qui menaient l'ascèse dans le monastère un modèle et un exemple.

Cependant, l'économe choisi par la sainte, après avoir pris soin de tout ce qui relevait évidemment de sa charge, sortit pour chercher sa maîtresse. Il rencontra le moine qui l'avait tonsurée et lui demanda s'il connaissait celle qui avait délaissé les choses terrestres pour la recherche des biens célestes. Le moine répondit : «Je ne nierai pas que je connais des choses à son sujet, mon enfant ; mais j'ignore où elle se trouve maintenant. Néanmoins, il y a peu que nous nous sommes rencontrés en route vers ce monastère».

Comme ils y étaient parvenus, ils apprirent du portier que celle qu'ils cherchaient était à l'intérieur. Ils demandèrent donc qu'elle leur soit amenée. Celle-ci sortit ; le moine lui montra son économe et parla ainsi : «Voilà présent ton très sage serviteur qui a fait beaucoup d'efforts pour te chercher. Et s'il te semble bon, allons dans notre laure». La sainte entendit cela, elle se rendit auprès de l'abbé du monastère et reçut de lui et des autres frères la bénédiction, puis elle sortit de ce lieu avec son serviteur, en compagnie du moine, vers la laure. Après avoir passé dans celle-ci suffisamment de temps, elle accomplit plusieurs miracles. Leur réputation se répandit véritablement et un grand nombre d'hommes, quittant le siècle, affluèrent vers le monastère. Mais l'étroitesse et la rudesse des lieux fit obstacle à leur installation.

Suite à cela, l'abbé du monastère, divinement inspiré, informa saint Taraise, alors patriarche de Constantinople au sujet des actes admirables du moine Euphémianos et lui dit qu'à cause de la diffusion du récit de ses miracles, un grand nombre d'hommes, délaissant le siècle, affluait vers le

couvent mais que les arrivants étaient hébergés avec difficulté à cause de l'étroitesse et de l'exiguité de l'endroit. Et par ces mots, il rangea le très saint patriarche à son avis. Il reçut de lui un lieu tombé en ruines qui est maintenant appelé le monastère des Abramites. En peu de temps, il dressa depuis les fondations un lieu de méditation destiné au salut de nombreuses âmes dans lequel il voulut que demeure cette sainte femme pendant le temps de course ascétique qui lui restait. Cela fut fait et sa conduite angélique fut connue de tous. Après peu de temps, ce qui était caché fut révélé et il est impossible de quantifier le nombre d'hommes qui, venu vers elle, l'entourait chaque jour.

Cependant, une épreuve frappa la sainte à propos de son habit, venant d'un moine inspiré par les actes et l'influence du diable. Cet homme, atteint par ce mal irréversible, commença à formuler des accusations et à répandre ouvertement au sujet de la sainte, bien qu'elle soit eunuque, des calomnies honteuses et pleines d'orgueil. Celle-ci ne compta en rien ces paroles et donna l'exemple des bienfaits plutôt qu'une négation énergique de ces accusations ; cependant, une certaine femme pieuse, lorsqu'elle entendit les paroles honteuses et abominables de cet homme impur et meurtrier, déclara, une fois en sa présence : «Prends garde, mon frère, que celui-ci ne soit pas eunuque et souillé, comme tu l'affirmes et le prétends, mais une femme et pure. Toi, tu as la géhenne du feu comme gain parce qu'en déchirant une innocente, tu as souillé les oreilles de ceux qui t'écoutent. Il y quelques années, une femme a distribué ses biens aux pauvres puis s'est ainsi volatilisée et si par hasard celui que tu qualifies d'eunuque est celle-ci, toi, tu jettes ton âme dans les tourments éternels».

Mais cet homme scélérat et astucieux, poussé en cela par sa propre méchanceté, laissa de côté les médisances pour répandre l'affaire parmi plusieurs. Il décida aussi de faire tomber la sainte dans un lieu en pente pour qu'une fois ses vêtements relevés, il la voit nue et que l'affaire soit révélée. Il accomplit cela peu après ; cependant, il ne vit rien mais par la volonté divine, il devint à moitié sec. Et il se leva et rentra chez lui. Là, il fut lié comme un condamné à mort, sa tête fut pressée dans le bois comme dans un lacet — ce qui est appelé dans la région le châtiment du voleur —, et il rendit son âme misérable et souillée.

Néanmoins, comme cet incident l'avait trahie et qu'elle voulait éviter le scandale, la sainte prit deux moines avec elle et monta vers la région du Sténos. Elle trouva une église, avec de l'eau et un jardin et elle demeura là avec les deux moines, Eustathe et Néophyte. Et de là à nouveau elle partit après quelques années, appelée à Byzance auprès de quelques moines dans la région du Sigma. Après avoir passé le reste de sa vie saintement et pieusement, avec la grâce de guérir des maladies et d'accomplir des miracles envers ceux qui venaient vers elle, elle partit vers le Seigneur.

Bien que ce récit du *Synaxaire* soit bâti à la base sur ce que J. Anson a considéré comme le schéma classique d'une *Vie* de travestie — fuite loin du monde, déguisement et ascèse, découverte et reconnaissance ([21]) — un point fondamental, celui du statut d'Anne au moment de sa fuite, le différencie cependant tant des narrations antérieures que de celle, postérieure, d'Euphrosyne la Jeune.

En effet, quand on examine les exemples de saintes qui, comme elle, ont connu le mariage avant leur travestisement, l'on constate que, si au VI[e] s. ([22]). Athanasie reçoit de son époux Andronique l'autorisation de se rendre dans un monastère féminin ([23]), si Matrone, à la même époque, fuit en cachette un mari que sa *Vie* présente à plusieurs reprises comme un monstre ([24]), si enfin, toujours au VI[e] s., Théodora d'Alexandrie considère son ascèse masculine comme une pénitence pour avoir trompé son conjoint ([25]), Anne quant à elle attend d'être veuve pour ôter son habillement féminin et se consacrer pleinement à l'ascèse ([26]).

Le récit ne fait aucune mention d'une lutte de la sainte pour échapper au mariage contre la volonté de sa famille, à la différence de travesties

(21) ANSON, *The Female Transvestite*, p. 13.

(22) Conformément à la remarque de M. VAN UYTFANGHE, citée plus haut (*supra*, n. 4), les dates données pour toutes les saintes envisagée dans ce travail sont celles de la rédaction probable des récits, telles que j'ai eu l'occasion de les proposer précédemment (DELIERNEUX, *Virilité physique et sainteté féminine*, pp. 239-240), plutôt que celles, souvent très aléatoires, de l'époque des saintes elle-mêmes.

(23) L. CLUGNET, *Vie et récits de l'abbé Daniel de Scété* 10 : *l'orfèvre Andronicus et son épouse Athanasie*, dans *ROC*, 5 (1900), p. 373, 26-32 (cité *Vie d'Athanasie*). Ce n'est que 20 ans plus tard que la sainte revêt un habit d'homme (cfr *infra*, n. 164).

(24) H. DELEHAYE, *S. Matronae vita prima*, VIII, dans *AASS*, Nov. III, Bruxelles, 1910, p. 794D ; X, p. 795D ; XIV, p. 798A (cité *Vie de Matrone*).

(25) K. WESSELY, *Die Vita S. Theodorae* 36-4, dans *Fünfzehnter Jahresbericht des K. K. Staatgymnasiums in Hernalis*, Vienne, 1889, p. 27 ; 66-7, p. 29 ; 194-6, p. 37 ; 306-7, p. 43 (cité *Vie de Théodora*).

(26) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 174, 32-3. Un autre exemple de ce type nous est fourni au VI[e] s. par le pèlerin de Plaisance (*Antonini Placentini itinerarium* 34, dans *Itineraria et alia geographica*, éd. L. BIELER (Corp. Christ., ser. Lat., CLXXV), Turnhout, 1975, p. 169, 11-5 : une jeune femme, Marie, devenue veuve la nuit de ses noces, part au bout d'une semaine, après avoir accompli les cérémonies de deuil, vêtue du manteau de son mari.

antérieures ([27]). Alors que son statut d'orpheline ([28]) aurait pu lui offrir une possibilité de se retirer sans trop de peine dans la vie contemplative, comme ce fut le cas pour Susanne ([29]) au IVe s., Anne se soumet entièrement à la volonté de mariage de sa grand-mère, qui remplace auprès d'elle ses parents. Même si le texte dû *Synaxaire* a pu être abrégé sur ce point, il est significatif que, contrairement à la majorité des autres travesties préalablement destinées au mariage ([30]), la sainte ne fuit pas la demeure familiale avant son union : c'est un de ses oncles paternels, inconnu par ailleurs, qui parle pour ainsi dire en son nom et reproche à sa famille de l'avoir unie à un homme au mépris de ses aspirations spirituelles ([31]) secrètes ([32]).

L'intervention de cet oncle, ascète du Mont Olympe et héros martyr de la lutte contre les images, par ailleurs en relation avec les empereurs Constantin et Irène ([33]), illustre un autre motif fréquemment représenté dans des récits antérieurs concernant des travesties, celui du garant — et parfois complice — irréfutable de l'orthodoxie de la sainte et de l'acceptation de ses actes par Dieu ([34]). Alors qu'Anne est encore dans le monde,

(27) DELIERNEUX, *Virilité physique et sainteté féminine*, pp. 191-192. Ce thème apparaît également dans les *Vies* de saints occidentales (VAN UYTFANGHE, *Le remploi dans l'hagiographie*, p. 394)

(28) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 174, 18.

(29) La mort de ses parents est présentée comme une délivrance divine qui lui donne la liberté de choisir ou de repousser le mariage et la sainte convainc sans peine ses tuteurs, désignés par son père, de lui remettre ses biens et de ne pas l'unir à un homme (H. DELEHAYE, *Vita S. Susannae virginis martyrae*, dans *AASS*, Sept. VI, Bruxelles, 1867, 154D-E) (cité *Vie de Susanne*).

(30) DELIERNEUX, *Virilité physique et sainteté féminine*, p. 191. Ce trait apparaît aussi chez Euphrosyne la Jeune qui attend le jour de ses noces pour fuir (*Vie d'Euphrosyne la Jeune* 5, p. 863B).

(31) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 174, 19-23.

(32) SIMONOS-PETRAS, *Le Synaxaire*, p. 382.

(33) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 174, 23-6.

(34) DELIERNEUX, *Virilité physique et sainteté féminine*, pp. 211-218. Ce trait est absent de la *Vie d'Euphrosyne la Jeune* mais dans son cas, ce silence s'explique, selon moi, par le fait que sa fuite et son travestissement ne sont pas simultanés. La sainte fuit en premier lieu le mariage, habillée en femme : le texte précise qu'elle change de vêtements mais il faut comprendre cette expression comme le changement d'une tenue riche à une tenue plus simple, afin sans doute de passer inaperçue et de signifier aussi son renoncement au monde (*Vie d'Euphrosyne la Jeune* 5, p. 863B). Ce n'est qu'après avoir été identifiée par un meunier qu'elle embarque sur un navire en revêtant cette fois un habit masculin

ces reproches annoncent déjà de façon implicite l'évolution future de sa destinée et il n'est pas surprenant que ce soit aussi cet oncle qui l'avertisse de la mort de son mari, puis de ses enfants ([35]). Ces prédictions constituent en outre par elles-mêmes un miracle et une preuve de l'attachement de Dieu à son égard, puisqu'elles sont proférées par une bouche dont la langue a été arrachée lors de la lutte iconoclaste ([36]). Sans aller jusqu'à affirmer que l'hagiographe a sciemment considéré cet élément comme essentiel dans la justification de la vocation d'Anne, il est certain que ce trait ne pouvait que donner du poids à l'orientation postérieure des pas de la sainte en direction de la spiritualité ascétique.

Par contre, même si c'est en fin de compte par un moine anonyme de l'Olympe qu'Anne est tonsurée et que c'est également dans un monastère du Mont Olympe qu'elle trouve son premier refuge ([37]), l'hagiographe enlève habilement à l'oncle ascète toute responsabilité dans l'acte final de travestissement. Sans doute aurait-il été peu admissible de rendre ce héros de l'orthodoxie directement responsable d'un comportement aussi contraire, quelles que soient les circonstances invoquées, aux préceptes théologiques et bibliques ([38]).

Le respect des liens familiaux

La mention de ces premières caractéristiques du récit m'amène également à souligner combien la *Vie* d'Anne diffère de façon significative des exemples antérieurs sur le plan des rapports familiaux.

M. Delcourt ([39]) a insisté sur l'hostilité que les travesties manifestaient à l'égard de leurs proches par leur fuite et le rejet de toute leur vie passée. Ce thème du reniement familial s'applique en fait aussi à bon nombre

et en prenant le nom de Jean (*Vie d'Euphrosyne la Jeune* 8, p. 864E-F). Par ce dédoublement, l'auteur relativise le travestissement puisque celui-ci n'apparaît pas comme prémédité dès le départ mais plutôt comme une solution pratique née des circonstances pour éviter d'être reconnue, qu'elle ne prolongera d'ailleurs pas jusqu'à sa mort (cfr *infra*, texte à la n. 159).

(35) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 174, 28-30 et 44.

(36) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 174, 19-21 (cfr *AASS*, XII, p. 916, n. d).

(37) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 174, 49-51.

(38) Delierneux, *Virilité physique et sainteté féminine*, pp. 202-209.

(39) Delcourt, *Le complexe de Diane*, pp. 12-13 ; p. 28.

d'ascètes masculins, tant en Orient qu'en Occident (40), puisque quantité de *Vies* débutent par la description de la rupture avec la famille et l'installation des parents féminins dans un couvent (41). Néanmoins, dans le cas des travesties, ce motif doit être nuancé par celui de la réconciliation qui survient généralement (42) entre la sainte et les siens (43), comme cela deviendra aussi peu à peu le cas pour certains hommes de Dieu (44).

À propos d'Anne, j'ai déjà relevé plus haut l'absence de rebellion affirmée contre la volonté de sa grand-mère, l'importance du rôle joué par son oncle dans l'évolution de sa destinée (45) et surtout l'attente de son veuvage pour entreprendre sa vocation ascétique : pour Anne, le lien conjugal et familial qui la lie possède à ses yeux suffisamment de poids pour ne pas être trahi, même au nom de Dieu. Nous sommes loin ici du cas de Mélanie la Jeune (46), qui, au Ve s., médita un moment de quitter son conjoint pour pratiquer la chasteté, ou de celui, contemporain, d'Olympias, qui eut la «chance» de voir mourir son époux avant la perte de sa virginité (47).

Cet aspect se révèle une caractéristique de l'hagiographie des IXe-Xe s., dans laquelle la famille du saint est de plus en plus présente et prise en considération (48). Même si, dans le cas d'Anne, la mort de ses proches

(40) VAN UYTFANGHE, *Le remploi dans l'hagiographie*, p. 388.

(41) ABRAHAMSE, *Women's Monasticism*, p. 40 et n. 14.

(42) DELIERNEUX, *Virilité physique et sainteté féminine*, p. 211, n. 250 et p. 220.

(43) Cette réconciliation peut avoir lieu à la mort ou pendant la vie de la sainte (cfr ID., p. 211). Euphrosyne la Jeune est la seule travestie qui ne reverra jamais les siens (cfr *infra*, texte à la n. 126).

(44) B. FLUSIN, *L'hagiographie monastique à Byzance au IXe et au Xe siècle*, dans *Le monachisme à Byzance et en Occident du VIIIe au Xe siècle. Aspects internes et relations avec la société*, éd. par A. DIERKENS, D. MISONNE et J.-M. SANSTERRE (= *Revue Bénédictine* 103, 1-2), Maredsous, 1993, p. 48 (cité FLUSIN, *L'hagiographie monastique*).

(45) Ce trait illustre aussi le motif de la famille monastique (*Ibidem*).

(46) D. GORCE, *Vie de Sainte Mélanie*, IV, (*SC* 90), Paris, 1962, pp. 132-134.

(47) Anne-Marie MALINGREY, *Vie anonyme d'Olympias*, II, 5-15, (SC 13bis), Paris, 1968, p. 410.

(48) FLUSIN, *L'hagiographie monastique*, p. 48. Angeliki E. LAIOU, *Addendum to the Report on the Role of Women in Byzantine Society*, *JÖB* 32, 1 = *XVI Internationalen Byzantinistenkongress. Akten* II, 1, Vienne, 1982, p. 199, établit la même constatation à propos des *Vies* réécrites par Métaphraste et constate que l'auteur y atténue nettement le rejet familial caractéristique de l'hagiographie antérieure.

vient finalement régler de manière définitive les problèmes que causerait son départ loin des siens, c'est bien dans cette perspective de respect familial que sa responsabilité conjugale et, en partie, maternelle est assumée jusqu'au bout.

Si Anne demeure soumise à la volonté divine, c'est néanmoins avec chagrin qu'elle endure le décès de son époux et plus tard, celui de ses enfants ([49]), alors que Matrone, dans une situation identique, s'était plus réjouie qu'attristée en apprenant la mort de sa fille Théodote ([50]).

Lorsque dans son deuil, elle entame son ascèse et cesse d'allaiter son premier enfant, elle prend soin de le confier à un autre frère de son père ([51]). À la naissance du second bébé, elle commence par garder celui-ci auprès d'elle ([52]) ; quand l'oncle du Mont Olympe revient la voir, sans manquer de s'informer sur le lieu où se trouve son enfant ([53]), c'est entre ses mains qu'elle décide de les placer tous les deux, implorant ses prières à leur égard ([54]), alors que Matrone, une fois encore, sur le point de quitter le domicile conjugal ([55]), avait simplement confié sa fille à une vierge ([56]).

À l'époque concernée, l'ancien modèle de rupture avec la famille est repoussé : le saint n'a plus à s'exclure d'une société qui a aussi évoluée et qui fait désormais de l'aspect laïque de certaines *Vies* un idéal de sainteté à part entière ([57]). L'humilité et l'obéissance sont les seules vertus que l'on accorde aux femmes, en les encourageant à un ascétisme secret et discret dans leur propre demeure ([58]).

(49) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 174, 47.

(50) *Vie de Matr*one X, p. 795B.

(51) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 174, 30-33 (cfr *AASS*, XII, p. 916, n. f).

(52) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 174, 34-5 (cfr *AASS*, XII, p. 916, n. g).

(53) Il est difficile de savoir si l'oncle, en utilisant le singulier, pense ici à l'aîné ou au bébé qui vient de naître. Je pencherais plutôt pour cette dernière solution puisque, ainsi que le remarque le traducteur des *Acta Sanctorum*, c'est lui qui nécessitait surtout la présence de sa mère et il était assez naturel que l'oncle s'inquiète de son sort.

(54) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 174, 38.

(55) Cette situation d'épouse en fuite explique évidemment qu'elle ait évité de demander le soutien de sa famille qui aurait pu désapprouver son dessein.

(56) *Vie de Matrone* III-IV, p. 792A-B.

(57) FLUSIN, *L'hagiographie monastique*, p. 49.

(58) Dans certains cas, le mariage lui-même apparaît comme une ascèse et un martyre (ABRAHAMSE, *Women's Monasticism*, pp. 53-54). Contrairement à Marie

Parmi les saintes des IX^e et X^e s., Marie la Jeune ([59]), les impératrices Théodora ([60]) et Théophano ([61]) ainsi que Thomaïs de Lesbos ([62]) sont des femmes mariées, parfois mères de famille. Quant à Théodora de Thessalonique, ce n'est, comme Anne, qu'après le décès de son époux qu'elle se rend dans le monastère d'une parente avec sa fille ([63]).

Toutes les *Vies* de ces femmes illustrent un nouveau type de sainteté qui sanctifie des femmes «normales», devenues saintes hors des limites d'un couvent ([64]), et qui s'acquiert dans leur rôle d'épouse et de mère plutôt que dans ces formes exceptionnelles d'ascétisme féminin comme la pénitente repentie, la femme travestie ou la jeune femme accompagnée d'un eunuque ([65]).

la Jeune (H. DELEHAYE, *Vita S. Mariae Iunioris*, 13-19, dans *AASS*, Nov. IV, Bruxelles, 1925, p. 698B-699E) (*cité Vie de Marie la Jeune*) et Thomaïs de Lesbos (H. DELEHAYE, *Vita et miracula XIV*, 7-10, dans *AASS*, Nov. IV, Bruxelles, 1925, pp. 236D-237E) (cité *Vie de Thomaïs*), Matrone, également aux prises avec un mari brutal, a opté pour la fuite plutôt que pour la résignation (cfr *supra*, n. 24).

(59) *Vie de Marie la Jeune* 4, p. 693E.

(60) A. MARKOPOULOS, *Βίος τῆς αὐτοκράτειρας Θεοδώρας*, 3, dans *Σύμμεικτα* 5 (1983), p. 258-60 (cité *Vie de l'impératrice Théodora*).

(61) E. KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano die Gemahlin Kaisers Leo VI*, dans *Mémoires de l'Académie imp. de Saint-Pétersbourg* VIII^e sér. III, 2 (1898), pp. 6-7 (cité *Vie de Théophano*).

(62) *Vie de Thomaïs* 7-10, p. 236D-37E.

(63) S. A. PASCHALIDES, *Ὁ βίος τῆς ὁσιομυροβλύτιδος Θεοδώρας τῆς ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ. Διήγηση περὶ τῆς μεταθέσεως τοῦ τιμίου λειψάνου τῆς ὁσίας Θεοδώρας. Εἰσαγώγη, κριτικὸ κείμενο, μεταφράση, σχολία*, 19 , 6-24, Thessalonique, 1991, p. 104 (cité *Vie de Théodora de Thessalonique*). Comme Anne, la sainte accomplit les cérémonies de deuil rituelles : le texte précise que Théodora, contrairement à Anne, ne manifeste pas de chagrin et ne met pas son veuvage au nombre de ses malheurs, ce que l'hagiographe se sent obligé de justifier par le poids de l'amour divin qui habite en elle, mais plus loin, il évoque toutefois le «malheur intolérable» du veuvage.

(64) TALBOT, *Byzantine Women*, p. 110 ; cfr A. KAZHDAN, *Hermitic, Cenobitic and Secular Ideals in Byzantine Hagiography of the Ninth through the Twelfth Centuries*, dans *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 30 (1985), pp. 474-475 ; 482 (cité KAZHDAN, *Hermitic, Cenobitic and Secular Ideals*) ; PATLAGEAN, *L'histoire de la femme déguisée en moine*, pp. 619-623.

(65) Cfr L. RYDÈN, *New Forms of Hagiography : Heroes and Saints*, dans *The 17th International Byzantine Congress. Major Papers. Washington, D. C., August 3-8*, Baltimore, 1986, p. 540 (cité RYDÈN, *New Forms of Hagiography*).

Même dans le cas de saintes qui mènent réellement une vie ascétique, soit anachorétique, comme Théoctiste de Lesbos au IX^e^ s., soit monastique, comme Irène de Chrysobalanton au X^e^, l'on constate que les liens familiaux demeurent généralement. Ainsi, c'est en allant visiter sa sœur que la moniale Théoctiste est capturée par les Arabes (66) et en ce qui concerne Irène, l'on constate que, sans quitter son monastère, la sainte garde des contacts avec les membres de sa famille résidant à Constantinople (67) et leur vient même en aide dans un conflit avec l'empereur (68).

Enfin je noterai encore l'exemple d'Euphrosyne la Jeune où l'auteur semble également accorder une certaine valeur aux liens familiaux et surtout maternels, bien que d'une manière assez originale par rapport aux autres récits. En effet, alors que la sainte n'a pas hésité à se travestir et à rompre tout lien avec les siens, qu'elle ne reverra jamais, rappellons-le, elle retrouve une forme de sublimation maternelle spirituelle lors de la naissance, grâce à ses ferventes prières, du futur empereur Constantin VII. Le texte place dans la bouche de l'impératrice Zoé, venue remercier la sainte, des paroles très fortes et concrètes qui identifient sa maternité physique avec celle, spirituelle, d'Euphrosyne : l'enfant a été mis au monde par les douleurs des prières de la sainte, il est son foetus, le fruit de sa conception plus que de celle de Zoé puisqu'il a été emmaillotté par les liens de ses prières. Et quand l'impératrice obtient qu'Euphrosyne se tienne aux côtés de l'enfant pour son baptême, le texte conclut qu'après avoir mis l'enfant au monde par ses prières, la sainte l'engendra à nouveau sans douleur dans le baptême salvateur (69).

Il est difficile de faire ici la part entre ce qui fut le texte de la *Vie* originale d'Euphrosyne et les amplifications postérieures de Nicéphore au XIV^e^ s. Je noterai toutefois que ce texte s'inscrit dans le cadre de revalorisation familiale mentionné plus haut et que les auteurs semblent de plus en plus avoir à cœur de concilier l'inconciliable en transformant des réalités féminines purement physiques, comme la maternité, en des idéalisa-

(66) H. DELEHAYE, *Vita S. Theoctistae*, 15, dans *AASS*, Nov. IV, 1925, p. 229A (cité *Vie de Théoctiste*).

(67) Par ex. avec sa sœur, par l'intermédiaire de l'eunuque Cyril (*infra*, n. 186).

(68) J. O. ROSENQUIST, *The Life of St Irene Abbess of Chrysobalaton. A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, Notes and Indices*, 21 (*Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia*, 1), Uppala, 1986, pp. 88-100 (cité *Vie d'Irène de Chrysobalanton*).

(69) *Vie d'Euphrosyne la Jeune* 26, p. 870E-F.

tions spirituelles, qui dans un registre différent, permettent de maintenir les figures féminines dans ce qui constitue depuis l'Antiquité leurs attributions typiques ([70]).

Sans aller aussi loin que le texte d'Euphrosyne, le récit concernant Anne, tel qu'il nous a été transmis par le *Synaxaire*, constitue un bel exemple charnière entre le nouveau modèle des saintes laïques et mariées et les types de sainteté plus individualiste des siècles précédents. Par son acceptation de son mariage et le respect de ses devoirs conjugaux et maternels jusqu'au décès des intéressés, Anne s'inscrit dans le schéma féminin de soumission qui vient d'être mentionné, un point qui s'accorde avec une rédaction originelle de la *Vie* dans le courant des IX^e^-X^e^ s.

Cependant, malgré tous ces adoucissements, Anne est et demeure une travestie, qui s'en va en compagnie de deux moines, sans doute eunuques ([71]). Ici ressurgissent les anciens types auxquels l'hagiographe, comme d'ailleurs celui d'Euphrosyne la Jeune, n'a pas totalement renoncé tant leur présence avait durablement marqué les esprits, mais qu'il a tenté de concilier plus ou moins heureusement avec les exigences hagiographiques contemporaines afin de faire du récit d'Anne, veuve et travestie, un modèle du genre reconstruit et repensé.

Eunuque et travestie : évolution du cliché de la fausse calomnie

Concernant le travestissement de la sainte, le récit du *Synaxaire* raconte qu'à la mort de son mari et de ses enfants, Anne finit de distribuer ses biens aux pauvres. Après avoir fait le tour des églises, elle rencontre un moine du Mont Olympe qui la tonsure. Elle revêt alors en secret un habit d'homme et arrive ainsi déguisée dans un monastère du Mont Olympe ([72]). Introduite par le portier auprès de l'abbé qui l'interroge sur les raisons de sa présence, Anne déclare être venue à cause du poids de ses péchés, afin de trouver la tranquilité de l'âme et d'obtenir le salut éternel ([73]).

(70) De même, le thème de la sainte « fiancée du Christ », qui renonce à l'union terrestre pour se consacrer pleinement au mariage céleste, apparaît très tôt dans les récits hagiographiques (cfr pour ex. Delierneux, *Virilité physique et sainteté féminine*, p. 201-2, n. 179).

(71) Cfr *infra*, texte aux n. 180-187.

(72) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 174, 46-51.

(73) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 174, 56-176, 12.

La lecture du texte ne nous éclaire guère sur les causes de ce travestissement et la première question qui vient à l'esprit est de se demander pourquoi la sainte n'a pas gagné un couvent féminin. T. Ortolan ([74]), comme le traducteur des *Acta Sanctorum* ([75]), motive son acte par l'opposition de sa famille à sa détermination. Néanmoins, contrairement à Euphrosyne, qui se travestit par nécessité après avoir été reconnue une première fois, le changement d'habit n'est assurément pas, dans le cas d'Anne, le seul moyen de pratiquer sa vocation monastique : la sainte, devenue veuve, aurait pu sans grand problème entreprendre une telle carrière ascétique ([76]), surtout avec le soutien de son oncle et d'autant plus volontiers sans doute que son père avait été un pieux diacre de l'église constantinopolitaine des Blachernes ([77]).

Selon moi, une des raisons de son choix peut être éclairé par l'éloge funèbre que Théodore Studite prononce lors du décès de sa mère, Théoktiste ([78]) : ce texte nous apprend que lorsque cette sainte, après avoir renoncé au monde, voulut être dirigée dans la voie spirituelle, cela lui fut impossible parce qu'à cause du trouble antérieur — allusion à la première phase de la crise iconoclaste — aucun monastère n'avait été établi et qu'il n'y avait personne qui puisse diriger un grand nombre ; à cause de cela, Théoktiste est contrainte de mener la vie des cellules ([79]). La situation décrite dans ce texte est contemporaine de l'époque d'Anne et les difficultés rencontrées par la mère de Théodore Studite expliquent en partie pourquoi Anne, désirant entamer une carrière monastique, n'a d'autre choix que de l'entreprendre sous le couvert masculin.

L'argument de l'opposition familiale tient d'autant moins que, dans la suite du récit, Anne ne prend guère de précaution pour dissimuler son identité : à l'arrivée, dans son monastère, de son serviteur et du moine qui

(74) ORTOLAN, *Anne*, col. 315.

(75) *AASS* XII, p. 916, n. c. De même, TALBOT, *Essere donna*, p. 67, déclare que la raison de son travestissement n'est pas claire, à moins qu'elle n'ait voulu échapper à la reconnaissance de ses parents.

(76) Cf. ABRAHAMSE, *Women's Monasticism*, p. 50 ; TALBOT, *Byzantine Women*, p. 120.

(77) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 174, 17-18. Sur cette église R. JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, I : *les églises et les monastères*, Paris, 1969, p. 161-71 (cité JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique*).

(78) *Sancti Patris nostri et confessoris Theodori Catechesis funebris in matrem suam*, dans *PG* 99, col. 892D-893A.

(79) Cf. C. DIEHL, *Figures byzantines*, Paris, 1906, p. 13.

l'a tonsurée, le portier répond positivement à leur demande de rencontrer Anne et la sainte pour sa part semble se présenter à eux sans réticence ([80]).

Plus tard, elle n'a non plus aucun scrupule à retourner dans sa ville natale et, contrairement à Euphrosyne la Jeune sans cesse en fuite devant l'affluence des foules qui la pressent et la séparent de sa quête vers Dieu ([81]), Anne ne tente nullement d'échapper à sa renommée ascétique croissante. Le récit de sa fuite «mystérieuse» est si célèbre dans la cité impériale que la femme pieuse qui la défend contre le moine suggère immédiatement son identification avec la disparue d'antan. Ses exploits sont connus de tous et lui valent une réputation extraordinaire ([82]) déjà de son vivant, comme ce fut aussi le cas de Matrone ([83]). En fait, à côté de la difficulté matérielle de trouver un couvent féminin à cette époque, le désir de salut éternel et l'aspiration à la perfection angélique dans un monastère d'hommes semblent bien les seules raisons spirituelles pour justifier l'acte d'Anne, comme c'est aussi le cas pour plusieurs travesties antérieures ([84]).

Lorsque Anne arrive au monastère du Mont Olympe et s'y présente comme un eunuque ([85]), l'abbé l'accueille par une mise en garde sur le danger, pour cette catégorie d'individus, de se laisser emporter par la liberté de parole et l'impudence excessive, la παρρησία ([86]). Cette réaction ne manque pas d'intérêt pour mon propos et il est certes remarquable, d'un point de vue symbolique, qu'elle suive immédiatement la mention par Anne de son nouveau prénom masculin, Euphémianos, qui signifie au sens étymologique «celui qui parle bien». Nous trouvons énoncé ici un avertissement identique à celui adressé par Théodore Studite à ses

(80) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 176, 22-5. Il faut bien sûr tenir compte du caractère abrégé de notre source mais il semble en tout cas certain que la sainte n'a pas manifesté d'opposition violente à leur dessein.

(81) *Vie d'Euphrosyne la Jeune* 7, p. 864B ; 16, p. 868E ; 27, p. 871B-C ; 30, p. 872D-E.

(82) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 176, 15-7 ; 28-39.

(83) Elle aussi est découverte avant sa mort et son travestissement et son ascèse lui valent une extraordinaire gloire *in vitam* (cfr DELIERNEUX, *Virilité physique et sainteté féminine*, pp. 220-221).

(84) ID., pp. 190-192.

(85) Comme toutes les autres travesties avant elle, Anne, à cause de sa voix et de son visage glabre, passe pour un eunuque (cfr ID., pp. 199-202).

(86) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 176, 12-4.

moines, au début du IX^e s. ([87]). Aux yeux de l'abbé du Stoudios, la παρρησία, œuvre du diable, est la cause de passions homosexuelles coupables entre les moines par l'échange de regards, de paroles et de gestes inconvenants ([88]).

Les eunuques constituent un groupe particulièrement à risques du point de vue de la morale sexuelle. En effet, s'ils font partie de la société et de l'empire byzantins, s'ils sont appréciés des empereurs, auprès desquels leur présence ne fait que se confirmer depuis l'Antiquité tardive ([89]), leur accession à la sainteté a suscité plus d'une polémique ([90]).

Puisqu'ils sont souvent esclaves, les eunuques peuvent être utilisés dans leur jeunesse en tant que partenaires passifs d'hommes adultes et ils sont aussi jugés capables d'une activité sexuelle envers les femmes ([91]). Dans un monde où la chasteté et la maîtrise du corps constituent un gage de perfection chrétienne évident et indispensable, ces êtres, rendus par la mutilation physique incapables de prouver leur continence et néanmoins

(87) P. HATLIE, *The City a Desert : Theodore of Stoudios on 'porneia'*, dans *Desire and Denial in Byzantium. Papers from the 31st Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Brighton, March 1997* (Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies. Publications, 6), éd. par L. JAMES, Aldershot-Brookfield USA-Singapore-Sydney, 1999, p. 70 (cité HATLIE, *The City a Desert*).

(88) *S. P. N. Theodori Studitae Magna Catachesis, Sermo* 39 (Novae Patrum Bibliothecae IX, 2), éd. par I. COZZA-LUZI, Rome, 1888, p. 110.

(89) S. F. TOUGHER, *Byzantine Eunuchs : an Overview, with Special Reference to their Creation and Origin*, dans *Women, Men and Eunuchs. Gender in Byzantium*, éd. par L. JAMES, Londres-New York, 1997, pp. 168-184 (168-173) (cité TOUGHER, *Byzantine Eunuchs*). Pour une vue d'ensemble du sujet, cfr aussi l'article de R. GUILLAND, *Les eunuques dans l'empire byzantin*, dans *REB*, 1 (1943), pp. 197-238.

(90) Ainsi, le *typikon* de l'Athos par Jean Tzimiskes, vers 972, interdit de recevoir sur la sainte montagne des êtres imberbes et des eunuques pour être tonsurés, alors que le texte ne fait aucune allusion à l'exclusion des femmes et des animaux féminin, comme c'est le cas dans le *typikon* de Lavra par Athanase (A.-M. TALBOT, *Women and Mt Athos, Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism. Papers from the twenty-eight Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1994* (Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies. Publications 4), éd. par A. BRYER et M. CUNNINGHAM, Aldershot, 1996, pp. 68-69. Cette situation suscite la rédaction au XII^e s., par Théophylacte d'Ochrid, d'un traité destiné à réhabiliter les eunuques au sein de la société (K. M. RINGROSE, *Passing the Test of Sanctity : Denial of Sexuality and Involuntary Castration*, dans *Desire and Denial* (cité n. 87), pp. 130-132 (cité RINGROSE, *Passing the Test of Sanctity*) ; TOUGHER, *Byzantine Eunuchs*, pp. 173-174).

(91) RINGROSE, *Passing the Test of Sanctity*, p. 125.

encore aptes à provoquer le désir de ceux effectivement lancés dans les luttes ascétiques, ne peuvent que provoquer la méfiance de la part des pères et des théologiens ([92]).

De ce point de vue, il était relativement naturel que le futur abbé d'Anne, voyant arriver dans ses murs un être jeune et imberbe dont on peut supposer, même si le texte ne le précise pas, qu'il était d'une certaine beauté ([93]), n'ait pas manqué de relever le danger de cette impudence considérée comme une caractéristique des eunuques, et cela dans le domaine à ses yeux le plus menacé, celui de la chasteté ([94]). Cette idée trouve un prolongement dans la suite du récit : lorsque la sainte, alors installée dans un monastère d'hommes de Constantinople ([95]), subit les calomnies malveillantes du moine impie — motif hagiographique classique de la fausse accusation — celles-ci portent sur ses prétendues relations coupables avec un homme ([96]) et non, ainsi que dans les exemples précédents de travesties, avec une femme ([97]). Quand la chrétienne pieuse prend la défense d'Anne — qui, elle, garde le silence face aux accusations ([98]) — elle mentionne textuellement cette idée de pollution de l'eunuque par l'acte sexuel ([99]).

(92) ID., p. 125-30.

(93) C'est là un cliché classique dans les récits de travesties et dans les *Vies* de saintes en général (pour des exemples de ce thème, cfr DELIERNEUX, *Virilité physique et sainteté féminine*, p. 182, n. 13). La beauté probable d'Anne explique d'autant mieux l'accusation de fornication dont elle sera l'objet dans la suite du récit (*Vie d'Anne*, p. 176, 39-42).

(94) De même, dès le IV^e^ s., les ascètes éprouvent à l'égard des jeunes gens la même méfiance qu'à l'égard des femmes, car ils peuvent provoquer en eux les mêmes désirs que celles-ci (cfr DELIERNEUX, *Virilité physique et sainteté féminine*, p. 196 et n. 137).

(95) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 176, 34-7.

(96) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 176, 41-2. C'est ainsi que le comprend RINGROSE, *Passing the Test of Sanctity*, p. 132) mais avec une large surinterprétation du texte : nul part celui-ci ne mentionne les tentatives du moine de séduire Anne, l'opposition de cette dernière à ses avances, la remarque de l'homme sur le statut d'eunuque d'Anne, qui devrait la rendre réceptive à ses propositions ni enfin, son affirmation de son probable état de femme, puisqu'elle ne paraît pas être intéressée par le sexe.

(97) DELIERNEUX, *Virilité physique et sainteté féminine*, pp. 197 ; 201-202.

(98) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 176, 43-4. Il s'agit là d'un trait propre à presque toutes les travesties.

(99) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 176, 46.

Ici encore, les mentalités ont évolué par rapport aux exemples de travesties antérieures. Dans le récit d'Anne, ce qui semble effrayer et choquer, ce ne sont plus uniquement les relations charnelles des moines avec des personnes de l'autre sexe — la présence même de la femme aux côtés du faux accusateur témoigne de l'existence de tels contacts, même si ceux-ci sont réprouvés par la législation impériale et ecclésiastique ([100]) — mais la dépravation croissante des mœurs au sein même de la communauté monastique, une crainte que laissait déjà entrevoir l'avertissement initial de l'abbé. Ce n'est plus avec une femme dans presque tous les cas ([101]) laïque ([102]) que la sainte est accusée d'avoir eu des relations coupables, ce ne sont plus non plus des êtres féminins, faibles par nature ([103]), qui portent des accusations mensongères contre elle mais un homme et qui plus est, un moine, en visite au monastère ([104]).

Contrairement aux cas précédents ([105]), le péché, instigué et inspiré par le diable ([106]), ne vient plus de l'extérieur ([107]) mais de l'intérieur même de l'ordre monastique. Le coupable, immédiatement puni par Dieu qui le

(100) ABRAHAMSE, *Women's Monasticism*, pp. 41-44 ; pp. 46-47.

(101) Dans le cas de Susanne seule, la sycophante est une ascète mais qui, selon le texte, ne mérite pas ce qualificatif (*Vie de Sus*anne 8, p. 156E ; 10, p. 157B).

(102) J. DRESCHER, *Three Coptic Legends. Appendix III : The Life of St. Apollinaria*, dans *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, Suppl. 4, Le Caire, 1947, p. 158 (cité *Vie d'Apollinaria*) (sa sœur) ; SYMÉON MÉTAPHRASTE, *Martyrium sanctae martyris Eugeniae*, XVI, dans *PG* 116, col. 628A (cité *Vie d'Eugénie*) (une femme d'Alexandrie) ; J. DRESCHER, *Three Coptic Legends : Hilaria- Archellites -The Seven Sleepers*, dans *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, Suppl. 4, Le Caire, 1947, p. 79 (cité *Vie d'Hilaria*) (sa sœur) ; M. RICHARD, *La Vie ancienne de Sainte Marie surnommée Marinos*, IX, dans *Corona Gratiarum. Miscellanea patristica, historica et liturgica eligio Dekkers OSB XII lustra completente oblata*, I, Brugge-'s Gravenhage, 1975, p. 89, 59-62 (cité *Vie de Marine*) (la fille d'un aubergiste) ; *Vie de Théodora*, 163-73, p. 35 (la fille mariée d'un higoumène).

(103) ABRAHAMSE, *Women's Monasticism*, p. 44.

(104) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 176, 53.

(105) L'épisode de la fausse calomnie est totalement absent de la *Vie* d'Euphrosyne la Jeune, sans doute parce que ce cliché aurait paru trop excessif au public contemporain.

(106) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 176, 39-41.

(107) Cfr *Vie de Susanne*, 7, p. 156E : l'évêque de Jérusalem reproche à l'abbé de laisser entrer une femme auprès d'hommes qui ont choisi de quitter le monde et leur famille.

rend à moitié sec ([108]), est par ailleurs pendu, une fois de retour dans sa patrie ([109]), un exemple d'exécution unique pour ce genre de récit : dans toutes les autres narrations de fausses calomnies, le mensonge est dénoncé soit sous la pression divine ([110]) soit, par la force des choses, lors de la révélation irréfutable du sexe de «l'eunuque» calomnié ([111]), mais le texte ne mentionne pas de mise à mort de la sycophante ([112]).

La forme inhabituelle de l'accusation de séduction portée par le moine contre la sainte nous ramène une fois encore aux mises en garde de Théodore Studite à l'égard de ses moines dont il a appris l'immoralité et qu'il exhorte à éviter non seulement les contacts avec des personnes de l'autre sexe mais aussi les rencontres privées entre deux moines dont l'un est encore jeune ([113]). Si le rapide développement du Stoudios à Constantinople, dans les premières années du IX^e^ s., entraîna, notamment du point de vue des mœurs, de nombreux problèmes qui inspirèrent à Théodore sa première règle écrite ([114]), cette dégradation morale ne fut pas un phénomène unique en cette période de grande expansion du monachisme mais toucha l'ensemble de la communauté monastique.

Que le texte du *Synaxaire* soit le seul parmi les récits à propos de travesties où apparaisse une mise en garde de l'higoumène quant aux

(108) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 176, 53.

(109) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 176, 53-55 (cfr *AASS*, XII, p. 917, n. v).

(110) Dans la *Vie de Marine* XXI, p. 94, 169-71, la calomniatrice est frappée du démon jusqu'à ce qu'elle confesse son mensonge.

(111) *Vie d'Eugénie* XXIV, col. 636C ; *Vie de Susanne* 9, p. 157D-E ; *Vie de Théodora* 316-20, p. 43.

(112) Dans le cas d'Eugénie (*Vie d'Eugénie,* XXIV, col. 636C), Dieu lui-même punit la calomniatrice en détruisant sa maison par le feu. La narration d'Anne ne précise pas qui sont les auteurs du meurtre du calomniateur : peut-être sont-ce des moines, comme pour l'accusatrice de Susanne qui manque être lapidée par les frères et que l'abbé chasse finalement de son territoire (*Vie de Susanne* 10, p. 157B. C'est la sainte qui prend sa défense et empêche le meurtre) Néanmoins, dans son cas, il ne s'agit pas d'ascètes étrangers au monastère, mais des condisciples spirituels de la sainte, dont la réaction excessive, sous le coup de l'indignation, est relativement compréhensible. Peut-être peut-on aussi considérer ce châtiment cruel du texte d'Anne comme la marque d'une colère populaire à l'annonce des épreuves endurées, à cause d'un homme de Dieu indigne, par une sainte célèbre et aprécíée (dans ce cas, une fois encore, l'argument du «secret» à propos d'Anne apparaît singulièrement déforcé).

(113) *Epistula* I, 10, dans *PG* 99, col. 941C-D ; cfr HATLIE, *The City a Desert*, pp. 67-74 (67-69).

(114) ID., p. 69.

dangers du statut d'eunuque me paraît dans cette optique particulièrement significatif. Si dans les exemples précédents, l'eunouchie de la travestie est ressentie dans une perspective essentiellement positive et spirituelle ([115]) — même lorsque sa trop grande beauté, comme chez Euphrosyne, ébranle quelque peu l'*apatheia* des moines ([116]) — l'abbé d'Anne réitère quant à lui les reproches exprimés dès l'Antiquité tardive et que l'on retrouve dans les sources historiques des IX^e^-XI^e^ s. ([117]). Dans le contexte de dégradation morale monastique accrue de l'époque, l'auteur de la *Vie* n'a pu s'empêcher d'exprimer les clichés connus qui accompagnaient généralement l'évocation de la castration masculine et qui s'avéraient, en l'occurence, particulièrement d'actualité.

Bien qu'il ne s'agisse certes pas là d'un critère définitif, l'évolution, à ce point de vue, du modèle d'Anne par rapport aux autres récits antérieurs et sa confrontation avec les informations du Studite vient fortement corroborer ce qui a été dit précédemment sur la date probable de la rédaction originelle. Peut-on s'avancer plus encore et déduire de cette comparaison que les mises en garde de l'abbé du Stoudios, dont le monastère joua, dès le début du IX^e^ s., un rôle politique, disciplinaire et culturel ([118]), présentait un réel caractère d'actualité aux yeux de l'auteur ? Faut-il, sur base de cet argument, suggérer une rédaction primitive de la *Vie* dans la première moitié du IX^e^ s., ainsi que l'a fait É. Patlagean ([119]) ? Sans doute serait-ce aller trop loin et je laisserai à de plus audacieux le soin de franchir ce pas.

Il reste néanmoins que la coïncidence des thèmes méritait d'être relevée. Au cœur même de son récit édifiant, l'auteur nous livre des réalités concrètes sur les problèmes engendrés par l'affluence des moines dans les monastères et sur les inquiétudes nourries que cette crise morale pouvait susciter dans l'esprit d'abbés comme Théodore, qui restaient attachés aux valeurs monastiques anciennes et pour lesquels la rectitude morale demeurait le principal souci.

(115) DELIERNEUX, *Virilité physique et sainteté féminine*, pp. 199-200.

(116) DR. MOURAD KAMIL, *Ste Euphrosyne, vierge d'Alexandrie*, XI, dans *Tome commémoratif du Millénaire de la Bibliothèque patriarcale d'Alexandrie*, Le Caire, 1953, pp. 248-249 (cité *Vie d'Euphrosyne*).

(117) RINGROSE, *Passing the Test of Sanctity*, p. 132.

(118) É. PATLAGEAN, *Théodora de Thessalonique. Une sainte moniale et un culte citadin (IX^e^-XX^e^ siècle)*, dans *Culto dei santi, istituzioni e classi sociali in età preindustriale*, éd. par S. BŒSCH GAJANO, L. SEBASTIANI, Rome, 1984, p. 50.

(119) PATALAGEAN, *L'histoire de la femme déguisée en moine*, p. 600, n. 17.

Le thème des retrouvailles

Outre les motifs déjà envisagés plus haut, le récit d'Anne présente encore un autre thème cher à l'hagiographie byzantine et notamment aux narrations concernant les travesties, celui des retrouvailles puis de la reconnaissance de la sainte ([120]).

Contrairement une fois encore aux exemples qu'offrent de ce cliché les récits antérieurs, ce n'est pas un parent qui se retrouve en présence de la sainte ([121]), mais l'économe qu'elle a chargé de la distribution de ses biens, accompagné du moine qui l'a tonsurée ([122]) ; dans le cas d'Euphrosyne la Jeune, c'est un serviteur de sa famille qui, envoyé sur ses traces, parvint un jour à sa retraite ([123]). Par ce biais, Anne évite tout risque de reproche concernant son acte et surtout toute tentative de récupération à la vie civile, alors que d'autres travesties avant elle durent se montrer persuasives et fermes, une fois leur identité dévoilée, pour obtenir de leurs proches l'autorisation de reprendre leur ascèse ([124]).

Le déroulement même de cette scène de reconnaissance entre la sainte et celui qui la recherche diffère sensiblement des autres narrations. En général, les travesties antérieures à Anne ne sont pas reconnues directement par le parent qui les rencontre mais choisissent elles-mêmes, pour diverses raisons et parfois même seulement à leur mort ([125]), de trahir le secret de leur naissance. Euphrosyne la Jeune, elle, sans dévoiler son identité, révèle simplement au visiteur que celle qu'il cherche n'est pas

(120) Sur l'exploitation de ce thème dans l'Antiquité tardive, v. l'étude récente de P. Boulhol, *'ΑΝΑΓΝΩΡΙΣΜΟΣ. La scène de reconnaissance dans l'hagiographie antique et médiévale* (Publication de l'Université de Provence), Aix-en-Provence, 1996.

(121) *Vie d'Apollinaria*, pp. 157, 29-158, 30 ; p. 160, 5-7 et 17-18 (sa sœur puis ses parents) ; *Vie d'Eugénie*, XXIII, col. 633-636 (son père) ; *Vie d'Euphrosyne*, XIV, pp. 253-254 (son père) ; *Vie d'Hilaria*, p. 77 ; pp. 80-81 (sa sœur puis ses parents) ; *Vie de Matrone* XIV, p. 797C-E (son mari) ; *Vie de Théodora* 76-83, p. 30 (son mari).

(122) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 176, 17-23.

(123) *Vie d'Euphrosyne la Jeune*, 12, p. 866B-C.

(124) *Vie d'Apollinaria*, p. 160, 9-11 ; *Vie d'Hilaria*, p. 80.

(125) *Vie d'Athanasia*, p. 375, 9-11 ; *Vie d'Euphrosynè* XVII, p. 256-7. Par ce biais, elles contournent tout danger de contestation de leur travestissement.

morte mais marche vers la vie, et le serviteur s'en retourne bredouille sur cette vague affirmation ([126]).

Dans notre récit, les choses se passent de manière plus expéditive. J'ai déjà relevé plus haut ([127]) que, lorsque son économe et le moine arrivent au monastère où elle s'est réfugiée, Anne ne semble pas vouloir se dérober à leurs yeux. Le texte ne mentionne aucune question sur sa situation illicite dans le monastère d'hommes ou sur son travestissement. Tout naturellement, ils lui proposent de les suivre dans la laure du moine, voisine du monastère, ce que la sainte accepte, avec la bénédiction de son abbé et des frères ([128]). Même s'il faut tenir compte du caractère résumé de la source, il est significatif que la sainte conserve son habit de moine même après avoir été identifiée.

Cet épisode des retrouvailles ne remplit aucunement dans le récit le rôle d'épreuve spirituelle ([129]) et de réconciliation familiale qu'il revêt dans les autres narrations ([130]). La rencontre relativement tirée par les

(126) *Vie d'Euphrosyne la Jeune*. 13, p. 866F. Il est intéressant de relever que ce thème existe déjà dans la *Vie* de son homonyme Euphrosyne au v[e] s. Dans ce dernier cas, ce sont des moines qui réconfortent le père désespéré en lui disant que si Dieu n'exauce pas leurs prières au sujet de la jeune fille, c'est qu'il ne lui est arrivé aucun mal (*Vie d'Euphrosyne* XIII, 34-55).

(127) Cfr *supra,* texte à la n. 80.

(128) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 176, 25-27.

(129) Se retrouver en présence, souvent après des années, d'un parent proche et cher, constitue, pour la sainte, une épreuve affective qu'il lui faut absolument remporter, de crainte de voir tous ses efforts ascétiques réduits à néant (cfr *Vie d'Apollinaria*, p. 158, 18-9 ; *Vie d'Euphrosyne* XIV, p. 254). — De même, le diable apparaît à Théodora sous les traits de son époux pour tenter de lui faire renoncer à son ascèse (*Vie de Théodora* 185-93, p. 36).

(130) Cette réconciliation de la sainte avec sa famille qui admire sa vertu et son courage et reconnaît donc pleinement son acte, semble surtout avoir pour but de relativiser la transgression sociale, biblique et religieuse que l'acte de la sainte implique. Cette reconnaisance a souvent lieu à la mort de l'héroïne, ce qui permet aussi la mise en évidence de sa sainteté et la diffusion du récit (*Vie d'Apollinaria,* pp. 159, 26-9 ; 160, 5-7 ; 17-8 ; *Vie d'Eugénie* XXIII, col. 636A-B ; XXIV, col. 636C ; *Vie d'Euphrosyne* XVII, 5-18 (cfr XVII, 14-8 ; *Vie d'Hilaria*, p. 81). Chez Marine et Athanasie, on a tenté de concilier ascèse et respect familial : la première rentre au monastère masculin en compagnie de son père (*Vie de Marine* II, 12-3), la seconde passe une bonne partie de son ascèse travestie dans la même cellule que son mari, qui ne l'a pas reconnue (*Vie d'Athanasie*, p. 374, 21-2) (cfr Delierneux, *Virilité physique et sainteté féminine*, p. 211 et n. 249).

cheveux ([131]) avec l'économe — présent au bon endroit au bon moment pour rencontrer le moine qui a tonsuré Anne et se faire conduire par lui sans hésitation au monastère où elle s'est établie — apparaît surtout selon moi comme un prétexte pour justifier le transfert de la sainte du monastère à la laure.

Pour le traducteur des *Acta Sanctoum*, ce passage à la laure aurait été préalablement arrangé entre la sainte et le moine : après avoir fait l'expérience des luttes ascétiques du monastère, le changement de demeure procurait à Anne une vie plus difficile et la combinaison des deux formes d'ascèses — cénobitique et anachorétique — tout en offrant une meilleure cachette à son travestissement ([132]). Cette explication, que le texte ne laisse en rien soupçonner, nécessite quelques nuances avant de pouvoir être adoptée : au-delà de la portée spirituelle indubitable, la lecture de la suite du récit semble ajouter aux raisons de ce premier ([133]) déplacement monastique d'Anne des connotations matérielles bien précises, qu'il convient d'examiner attentivement.

Tout d'abord, l'argument d'une meilleure cachette me paraît, d'après ce qui a été dit auparavant, particulièrement peu solide. Si c'est effectivement pour fuir les foules qu'Euphrosyne la Jeune modifie à plusieurs reprises sa retraite anachorétique ([134]), l'installation d'Anne dans la laure, elle, n'est aucunement justifiée de cette manière et n'empêche absolument pas le développement de sa réputation, bien au contraire : c'est à cause de ses miracles que les gens commencent à se presser vers ce lieu, en dépit de conditions topographiques inappropriées ([135]).

En second lieu, il faut noter non seulement qu'aux VIII^e^-IX^e^ s., les différences lexicales entre les termes de «monastère» et de «laure» ont tendance à disparaître ([136]) mais aussi, comme l'a souligné D. Papachryssanthou ([137]), qu'il est relativement difficile de déterminer de façon précise quel est le mode de vie impliqué par chacun des deux termes : une «laure» pourrait être constituée d'un cénobion entouré de cellules

(131) *AASS*, XII, p. 917, n. r.
(132) *AASS*, XII, p. 914B ; D ; cfr p. 917, n. l.
(133) Cfr *infra*, texte aux n. 179-191.
(134) Cfr *supra*, n. 81.
(135) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 176, 27-30.
(136) *ODB*, p. 1190.
(137) Denise PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, *La vie monastique dans les campagnes byzantines du VIII^e^ au XI^e^ siècle*, dans *Byz.*, 43 (1973), pp. 158-180 (cité PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, *La vie monastique*).

anachorétiques, dans une proportion fixée au départ, mais il ne s'agit là que d'une suggestion ([138]). Dans le récit même d'Anne, comme dans d'autres *Vies* contemporaines ([139]), l'on constate que l'auteur, après avoir utilisé deux fois le terme «λαύρα» ([140]), n'emploie plus, dans la suite du récit, que «μονή» ([141]) et il est assurément peu aisé de déterminer précisément quel type ascétique était pratiqué dans cette seconde résidence de la sainte.

Il n'en reste pas moins vrai que la région du Mont Olympe est un monde complexe où coexistent et se compénètrent différentes formes de vie monastique ([142]), parmi lesquelles l'anachorèse de Joannice reste, une référence pour tout le monachisme bithynien ([143]). Au Mont Athos, au Mont Olympe et à Constantinople, de nouveau centres monastiques se développent et ce phénomène s'accompagne d'une rivalité entre les diverses résidences ([144]) : ce n'est pas un hasard, à ce point de vue, si dans le récit d'Anne, l'auteur prend bien soin de préciser que son abbé et ses frères approuvent son départ : cette précision nous ramène au thème de l'obéissance cénobitique au supérieur ([145]), qui constitue un élément essentiel dans le changement de résidence ascétique ([146]).

En fait, la sainte, avec toutes les vertus qui ont fait d'elle un modèle pour tous les moines ([147]), est proprement «récupérée» par la laure voisine. Même s'il demeure présomptueux, dans le cas d'Anne, d'affirmer de façon catégorique que celle-ci pratique effectivement un mode de vie semi-anachorétique, il est cependant notable qu'aux yeux de l'auteur, c'est le changement de lieu qui constitue pour Anne l'étape finale et décisive dans l'acquisition de la sainteté : le texte précise que c'est là qu'elle acomplit ses premiers miracles, après y avoir passé suffisamment de temps ([148]). En cela, le texte s'inscrit tout à fait dans les conceptions

(138) ID., pp. 178-179.
(139) ID., pp. 173-176.
(140) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 176, 25 ; 27.
(141) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 176, 29 ; 30 ; 32.
(142) FLUSIN, *L'hagiographie monastique*, pp. 37-38 ; PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, *La vie monastique*, p. 159.
(143) FLUSIN, *L'hagiographie monastique*, p. 37. Sur les mentions de laures sur le Mont Olympe, v. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, *La vie monastique*, pp. 175-176.
(144) RYDÈN, *New Forms of Hagiography*, p. 538.
(145) FLUSIN, *L'hagiographie monastique*, p. 37.
(146) PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, *La vie monastique*, p. 162.
(147) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 176, 15-7.
(148) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 176, 27-8.

monastiques des VIII^e-XI^e s. selon lesquelles on ne peut aborder l'anachorétisme sans avoir au préalable séjourné dans un couvent (149). Un schéma identique apparaît par ailleurs dans le cas d'Euphrosyne la Jeune : après avoir vécu trois mois seule dans une demeure en ruine proche de la maison parentale (150), elle se rend dans un monastère du Pont sous un habit masculin (151) puis, lorsque les moines veulent faire d'elle leur higoumène, elle part vers le désert (152) où elle aspire, dit le texte, à une anachorèse difficile (153).

La présence et les miracles d'Anne sont pour leur part tout bénéfiques pour le groupe puisqu'ils provoquent un afflux d'aspirants à la vie spirituelle. Suite à cela, ils entraînent la donation par le patriarche Taraise (154), à la demande de l'higoumène (155), du bâtiment constantinopolitain en ruine pour y élever un nouveau monastère (156). L'abbé ordonne à Anne d'aller y passer le reste de sa vie et grâce à sa présence et à la réputation

(149) PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, *La vie monastique*, pp. 160-161. Sur les différentes opinions concernant la primauté du cénobitisme sur l'érémitisme à cette époque, cfr KAZHDAN, *Hermitic, Cenobitic and Secular Ideals*, pp. 476-482.

(150) *Vie d'Euphrosyne la Jeune* 5, p. 863B-C. Cette étape préliminaire, qui joue en quelque sorte le rôle de «mise en condition» ascétique se retrouve également dans deux *Vies* de travesties antérieures (*Vie d'Apollinaria*, p. 156, 14-7 ; p. 157, 5-12 ; *Vie d'Hilaria*, p. 72). Dans le cas d'Anne, c'est sa tournée dans les édifices religieux qui semble remplir ce rôle préparatoire.

(151) *Vie d'Euphrosyne la Jeune* 7, p. 864B-D.

(152) Euphrosyne la Jeune ne peut évidemment pas, comme Anne, demander la bénédiction de son higoumène avant de quitter le monastère. Cependant, l'auteur pallie à cette transgression à l'obéissance monastique en soulignant que les portes du couvent se trouvent précisément ouvertes au moment voulu (*Vie d'Euphrosyne la Jeune*. 10, p. 865D) : dans son cas, c'est en quelque sorte Dieu lui-même qui accorde son soutien à sa fuite, un thème qui se retrouve dans plusieurs autres *Vies* de travesties (cfr aussi DELIERNEUX, *Virilité physique et sainteté féminine*, pp. 214-218).

(153) *Vie d'Euphrosyne la Jeune*. 10, p. 865E.

(154) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 176, 34-7.

(155) Au IX^e s., on voit de plus en plus dans les *Vies* la sainteté et le pouvoir être mis en contact (RYDÈN, *New Forms of Hagiography*, p. 540) : l'oncle d'Anne est en rapport direct avec les empereurs (*Vie d'Anne*, p. 174, 23-6) et c'est aussi directement au patriarche que l'abbé d'Anne s'adresse pour obtenir un nouveau monastère (*Vie d'Anne*, p. 176, 30-7).

(156) Sur la fondation et l'histoire de ce monastère, cfr M. KRASENINNIKOV, *Sancti Abramii archiepiscopi Ephesii sermones duo*, Iurievi Livonorum, 1911, p. LXX-LXXIX et surtout JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique*, p. 4-6.

des miracles d'Anne, les postulants ne tardent pas à se presser dans ce nouveau cénobion ([157]).

Cet épisode illustre un autre trait significatif de la vie spirituelle des saints et saintes de l'époque inexistant dans les récits de travesties antérieures : une fois le démon vaincu et la perfection atteinte, le saint retourne dans le monde de son plein gré — ici sur l'ordre de l'abbé — pour faire profiter le reste des hommes de son expérience angélique ([158]). Euphrosyne la Jeune accomplit le même transfert après sa période anachorétique, mais dans son cas, le retour à la vie monastique a lieu dans un monastère féminin, avec la reprise des habits de son sexe ([159]).

Comme d'autres *Vies* contemporaines, le texte d'Anne témoigne de l'expansion du monachisme à cette époque, à la fois libre et empreint des survivances du passé ([160]). Par le biais de l'épisode peu explicable de l'arrivée de l'économe et du moine au monastère, l'hagiographe fournit à Anne l'occasion de quitter ce dernier pour un autre établissement ascétique, de type peut-être plus anachorétique, et de gravir ainsi, par l'acquisition de la capacité thaumaturgique, un échelon vers la perfection spirituelle, tout en justifiant en même temps l'enrichissement matériel de la communauté. Mêlant l'ancien motif des retrouvailles, mais adapté, avec le thème bien actuel du développement et de la donation monastiques, illustrés par le geste de Taraise, l'hagiographe nous offre l'image d'un monachisme flexible et changeant, où s'imbriquent des formes d'ascèse variées et dans lequel la quête spirituelle immuable n'exclut nullement une rivalité matérielle bien contemporaine.

Travestissement et changement de lieu

Avec ce changement de résidence monastique, le texte d'Anne introduit encore un autre cliché fréquent dans les *Vies* de travesties, celui du voyage.

(157) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 176, 30-9.

(158) Papachryssanthou, *La vie monastique*, p. 163. L'auteur considère ce trait comme un critère de véracité du récit.

(159) *Vie d'Euphrosyne la Jeune* 16, p. 867C-D.

(160) Élisabeth Malamut, *La moniale à Byzance aux VIIIe-XIIe siècles*, dans *Τάσεις του ορθόδοξου Μοναχισμού. 9ος-20ος αιώνες. Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συμποσίου που διοργανώθηκε στα πλαίσια του Προγράμματος «Οι δρόμοι του ορθόδοξου μοναχισμού. Πορευθέντες μάθετε». Θεσσαλονίκη, 28 Σεπτεμβρίου — 2 Οκτωβρίου 1994*, *Το Βυζάντιο σήμερα*, 1, éd. par K. Nikolaou, Athènes, 1996, pp. 63-64.

Sans insister sur les exemples de travestissements temporaires, dans lesquels la présence de ce motif est déjà nettement notable ([161]), il faut remarquer que chez toutes les saintes habillées en moine, ce thème constitue un élément important dans leur vie spirituelle : dans tous les cas, le passage d'un lieu à un autre marque un exercice, une progression dans la sainteté, qu'il se produise au début, au cours ou à la fin de la carrière ascétique.

Certaines travesties, notamment Apollinaria ([162]) au VI^e^ s., passent par un stade érémitique avant de s'installer dans une cellule. Parfois, comme pour Théodora, cette étape est imposée par la communauté ([163]) en gage de sincérité et dans d'autres cas encore, la sainte passe du monastère à la cellule ([164]). Quelques femmes, comme Anastasie ([165]) ou Matrone ([166]), fuient de lieu en lieu les avances d'un prétendant tandis que deux autres, Marine ([167]) et Théodora ([168]), accusées en tant qu'eunuques d'avoir provoqué une grossesse, sont condamnées à errer pendant plusieurs années dans le désert qui entoure le monastère avec leur fils prétendu, avant de pouvoir réintégrer la demeure monastique. Enfin, dans le cas d'Euphrosyne la Jeune, je l'ai dit, c'est plutôt la fuite constante de la gloire et des honneurs qui motive ses divers déplacements.

(161) Ainsi chez Thècle, au II^e^ s. (*Acta Theclae.* XXVI, p. 253, 10 ; XL, p. 266, 4 ; XII, p. 268, 1) et chez Eusébie, au V^e^ s., qui se surnomme d'ailleurs «Étrangère» (TH. NISSEN, *Vie de Sainte Eusébia* VII, dans *AB*, 56 (1938), p. 109, 7-14) (cité *Vie d'Eusébie*).

(162) Cfr *supra*, n. 150.

(163) *Vie de Théodora* 44-6, p. 28. Sur le rôle de cette épreuve dans le cas de Théodora, v. DELIERNEUX, *Virilité physique et sainteté féminine*, p. 217.

(164) Athanasie quant à elle, partie avec son époux Andronique à Scété, est envoyée par Daniel dans un monastère féminin. Vingt ans plus tard, elle se travestit pour entreprendre un pèlerinage à Jérusalem ; en chemin, elle rencontre son mari, parti de sa cellule dans un but identique au sien et elle termine avec lui incognito sa vie dans une cellule (*Vie d'Athanasie*, pp. 374-375).

(165) Anastasie, fuyant les avances de l'empereur Justinien et la jalousie de sa femme Théodora, commence par se réfugier à Alexandrie ; une fois sa trace retrouvée par l'empereur, elle trouve un abri définitif dans une cellule du désert de Scété, avec la complicité de Daniel (L. CLUGNET, *Vie et récits de l'abbé Daniel de Scété 2 : Vie d'Anastasie la patrice*, dans *ROC*, 5 (1900), p. 53 (cité *Vie d'Anastasie*).

(166) *Vie de Matrone* XIII, p. 797 ; XIV, p. 798 ; XXVIII, p. 803.

(167) *Vie de Marine* X-XV, pp. 90-91.

(168) *Vie de Théodora* 162, p. 35-254, p. 40.

Certaines saintes accomplissent en outre l'un ou l'autre voyage pour des raisons diverses mais qui demeurent toujours en rapport étroit avec l'évolution de leur sainteté personnelle : ainsi, Apollinaria accomplit l'aller-retour à Constantinople pour se disculper d'une accusation de fornication avec sa propre sœur venue se faire soigner auprès de la sainte qu'elle ne reconnaît pas ([169]). Ce schéma est reproduit quasiment tel quel chez Hilaria ([170]), une sainte du VII[e] s. dont nous ne possédons que la vie copte, très influencée par la *Vie* d'Apollinaria. Théodora, lors d'une sortie pour aller acheter de l'huile, se trouve en présence de son mari qui ne la reconnaît pas ([171]). Enfin, ainsi que l'a tout récemment relevé Schein ([172]), un rapport étroit existe entre la notion de virilité féminine et le motif du pèlerinage ([173]) et plusieurs saintes travesties accomplissent un voyage à Jérusalem ([174]), qui peut même constituer le point de départ de leur vie spirituelle ([175]). Le choix même de la voie monastique implique forcément un changement de lieu, le passage de la demeure familiale au monastère ou à la cellule, qui se combine dans certains cas avec le motif de l'étrangeté au monde, la ξενιτεία.

Dans les textes concernant les travesties, ce dernier thème acquiert, comme j'ai eu l'occasion de le mentionner brièvement ([176]), une dimension supplémentaire puisqu'il se voit associé à celui, beaucoup plus profond encore, de l'étrangeté corporelle et sexuelle. L'éloignement géographique va ici de pair avec la séparation physique puisque chaque déplacement contribue à l'amenuisement progressif de la féminité des héroïnes, jusqu'à une disparition presque totale ([177]). Même dans le cas des voyages de disculpation d'Apollinaria et d'Hilaria, à la cour de leur

(169) *Vie d'Apollinaria*, pp. 158-159.

(170) *Vie d'Hilaria*, p. 77.

(171) Sur les raisons de ce trait de la *Vie*, cfr DELIERNEUX, *Virilité physique et sainteté féminine*, pp. 217-216.

(172) SCHEIN, *The 'Female-Men of God'*, p. 22-25.

(173) ID., p. 33.

(174) *Vie d'Apollinaria*, p. 153, 15-7 ; 22-3 ; *Vie d'Athanasie*, p. 374, 4-5 ; P. PETITMENGIN e. a., *Pélagie la Pénitente. Métamorphoses d'une légende* I, 43. *Les textes et leur histoire. Grec, latin, syriaque, arabe, arménien, géorgien, slavon* (Études Augustiniennes. Série antiquité), Paris, 1981, p. 90 ; *Vie de Susanne* 4, p. 154C.

(175) Cfr SCHEIN, *The 'Female-Men of God'*, p. 29.

(176) DELIERNEUX, *Virilité physique et sainteté féminine*, p. 202.

(177) ID., p. 199.

propre père, le retour temporaire au monde et à la féminité n'est là que pour mieux être vaincu ; le sommet est atteint avec Théodora, que ne reconnaît pas son propre mari, pourtant divinement envoyé à sa rencontre ([178]). Pour ces trois saintes comme pour les autres, chaque pas concrètement accompli est une marche spirituelle gravie sur l'échelle ascétique de la parfaite asexualité angélique.

Revenant à l'examen de la narration d'Anne, l'on constate que, même si le thème du changement de lieu est très nettement présent dans la *Vie* ([179]), son exploitation diffère cependant en plusieurs points des cas déjà rencontrés et offre plus d'un aspect intéressant pour mon étude.

Selon le texte du *Synaxaire*, Anne modifie à cinq reprises l'endroit de son ascèse. Dans les quatre premiers cas, le thème marque, ainsi que dans les exemples antérieurs, une progression dans la sainteté : le monastère olympien constitue le point de départ de son ascèse ; la laure, l'endroit où Anne accomplit ses premiers miracles ; le monastère de Taraise, le lieu où elle connaît sa pénible épreuve de fausse calomnie ; l'église enfin, le refuge qui l'accueille après l'épreuve de la révélation de son sexe.

Je ne reviendrai pas sur le passage du premier monastère à la laure, déjà abondamment évoqué précédemment. Le départ d'Anne du monastère offert par Taraise survient suite à la révélation de sa féminité par le moine impie : afin d'éviter le scandale que provoque la révélation de sa féminité, Anne, toujours travestie, quitte le monastère avec deux moines, Eustathe et Néophyte ([180]). Étant donné que cette affirmation est difficilement concevable au sens littéral, il faut supposer qu'il s'agit en fait d'êtres dépourvus de virilité sexuelle ([181]), soit des vieillards, comme chez Apollinaria ([182]), soit des eunuques ([183]), comme dans le cas d'Eugénie ([184]), au III[e] s. et surtout d'Euphrosyne la Jeune ([185]).

(178) *Vie de Théodora* 71, p. 29-78, p. 30.

(179) Comme le note le traducteur des *Acta Sanctorum*, (*AASS*, XII, p. 913E-4B), l'absence de règle monastique chez les Grecs permet les fréquents déplacements entre les monastères.

(180) Ce thème du moine qui fuit le lieu où il deviendrait une cause de scandale est fréquent dans les *Vies* de saints (Élisabeth MALAMUT, *Sur la route des saints byzantins*, Paris, 1993, p. 174).

(181) Cfr DELIERNEUX, *Virilité physique et sainteté féminine*, p. 200.

(182) *Vie d'Apollinaria*, p. 155, 8-9.

(183) *AASS*, XII, p. 917, n. y. Cfr RYDÈN, *New Forms of Hagiography*, p. 537.

(184) *Vie d'Eugénie* IV, col. 613B. Anson (*The Female Transvestite*, p. 27) identifie en cela Eugénie et le Christ androgyne, né d'une union asexuée.

(185) *Vie d'Euphrosyne la Jeune* 24, p. 870B.

Ce dernier texte explique en effet clairement que l'eunuque Nicolas, qui suit la sainte dans ses pérégrinations, sert de lien chaque fois qu'elle a besoin d'entrer en contact avec le monde ([186]) : c'est lui qui va porter à l'empereur Léon VI le message de la sainte annonçant la naissance future de Constantin VIII ([187]) et qui lui procure son dernier habitat à Constantinople. À moins que la présence de Nicolas au côtés d'Euphrosyne ne soit le fruit de l'imagination de Nicéphore Calliste, ces explications nous permettent de mieux comprendre la légitimité de la présence d'Eusthate et Néophyte aux côtés d'Anne et de supposer leur caractère asexué.

Arrivés dans la capitale, Anne et ses compagnons s'installent dans une église du Sténos ([188]), munie d'eau et d'un jardin. Après quelques années, la sainte quitte son refuge pour un autre monastère constantinopolitain de la région du Sigma ([189]) où elle passe le restant de ses jours ([190]), très probablement toujours vêtue d'un habit masculin. Le texte n'énonce pas clairement les causes de ce cinquième et dernier changement de résidence, mais nous apprend simplement que la sainte fut «appelée» auprès des moines ([191]). Peut-être peut-on suggérer qu'à la mort d'Eusthate et Néophyte, les frères byzantins ne manquèrent pas l'occasion de faire venir auprès d'eux une ascète demeurée totalement seule, dont la réputation bien établie et les vertus largement prouvées ne pouvaient qu'être bénéfiques pour leur communauté.

Ce thème du voyage apparaît déjà, je l'ai dit, chez les autres travesties, où il illustre un même symbolisme entre la progression spirituelle et le déplacement géographique, mais chez Anne, ces différents déplacements prennent un aspect beaucoup plus «ostensible» et légitime. Outre la fuite du domicile, bien évidemment commune à toutes les travesties, chaque

(186) De même, dans *Vie d'Irène de Chrysobalanton* 12, p. 48, 22- p. 50, 4, c'est un eunuque, Cyril, qui sert d'intermédiaire entre la sainte et le monde.

(187) *Vie d'Euphrosyne la Jeune* 27, p. 871B-C.

(188) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 176, 55-7. Il s'agit du Bosphore, cfr *AASS*, XII, p. 917, n. y et R. JANIN, *Constantinople byzantine. Développement urbain et répertoire topographique*. Édition révisée et augmentée (Archives de l'Orient chrétien, 4A), Paris, 1964², p. 479 (cité JANIN, *Constantinople byzantine*).

(189) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 178, 44-5. Sur ce lieu, cfr *AASS* XII, p. 917, n. z, et JANIN, *Constantinople byzantine*, p. 478 ; *La géographie ecclésiastique*, pp. 230-231.

(190) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 178, 43-6.

(191) *Vie d'Anne*, p. 178, 44.

changement de résidence ascétique est, comme dans le cas d'Euphrosyne la Jeune, voulu par la sainte ([192]) — même s'il est parfois accepté et même conseillé par l'higoumène — et non plus essentiellement imposé par les circonstances, comme dans les voyages de justification d'Apollinaria ou Hilaria ([193]), dans l'errance forcée de Marine et Théodora ([194]) ou dans la fuite amoureuse d'Anastasie et Matrone ([195]).

On peut donc conclure que le récit d'Anne s'inscrit dans une période où les femmes ne sont pas astreintes à la clôture ou à la cellule mais sont libres de circuler ([196]) et de voyager relativement ([197]), sans qu'il soit nécessaire d'utiliser le prétexte d'une cause extérieure pour motiver le déplacement. La sainte voyage parce qu'elle le désire et y trouve éventuellement un intérêt. À la fuite loin du monde, à la réclusion d'Apollinaria, d'Euphrosyne ou de Pélagie qui passèrent dans une cellule la majeure partie de leur vie, s'oppose une tendance tout à fait contraire bien représentée dans l'hagiographie médiévale, notamment par l'exemple d'Anne et un peu plus tard, celui d'Euphrosyne la Jeune. Le lieu où l'on va combattre le démon n'est plus le désert mais le centre urbain : Anne, pourtant partie secrètement de Constantinople, revient sous le patronat du patriarche Taraise vivre dans cette même cité où elle a

(192) Même dans le cas de la fausse accusation, le texte laisse entendre que c'est la sainte elle-même qui prend sur elle de quitter le monastère alors que dans les autres cas de travesties découvertes avant leur mort, c'est généralement l'abbé du monastère qui le leur fait quitter après leur avoir fait remettre leur habit féminin (*Vie de Matrone* IX-X, p. 795B ; *Vie de Susanne* 10, p. 157B-C). Dans le cas d'Eugénie (*Vie d'Eugénie* XXVI, col. 640A-B), le texte dit simplement que la sainte choisit la virginité avec d'autres vierges. Il faut par ailleurs noter que, des trois saintes qui furent ainsi découvertes avant leur mort, deux d'entre elles, Eugénie et Susanne, meurent martyres quelques années après (*Vie d'Eugénie* XXXVI, col. 649C ; *Vie de Susanne* 13, p. 158E-F ; 14-5, p. 159A-B), ce qui explique sans doute la révélation *in vitam* de leur sexe (DELIERNEUX, *Virilité physique et sainteté féminine*, pp. 194-196). Quant à la troisième sainte dans ce cas, Matrone, les injonctions de l'abbé semblent essentiellement formelles et n'empêchent nullement la sainte de revenir plus tard au monastère avec une autre femme, comme elle habillée en homme (*Vie de Matrone* XXIX, p. 803E ; cfr DELIERNEUX, *Virilité physique et sainteté féminine*, pp. 220-211).

(193) *Vie d'Apollinaria*, pp. 158-159 ; *Vie d'Hilaria*, p. 77.

(194) *Vie de Marine* X-XV, pp. 90-91 ; *Vie de Théodora* 162, p. 35-254, p. 40.

(195) *Vie d'Anastasie*, p. 53 ; *Vie de Matrone* XIII, p. 797 ; XIV, p. 798 ; XXVIII, p. 803.

(196) MALAMUT, *La moniale à Byzance*, pp. 65-66.

(197) FLUSIN, *L'hagiographie monastique*, p. 46.

ouvertement des contacts avec hommes et femmes. Alors qu'auparavant, l'hagiographie libérait le saint de l'espace urbain dont il ne franchissait plus les portes après le commencement de son ascèse ([198]), le saint est à présent partout chez lui et définitivement rentré dans la ville ([199]).

Conclusion : d'Eugénie à Anne...

Le texte concernant Anne, tel qu'il est résumé dans le *Synaxaire*, nous décrit un modèle de sainteté complexe et mêlée, fait de survivances du passé et d'innovations, que l'hagiographe a tenté de combiner au mieux.

Comme Eugénie, six siècles avant elle, Anne quitte sa demeure familiale, s'installe dans un monastère de moines et voyage en compagnie de deux eunuques probables, sans que son habit masculin ne suscite la moindre critique ni même le moindre commentaire. De ce point de vue, rien n'a changé et les motifs spirituels centraux demeurent, immuables au fil du temps.

Néanmoins, au-delà des apparences, bien des aspects sont différents : ce n'est plus une vierge mais une veuve qui part, après avoir rempli ses devoirs conjugaux et maternels ; ce ne sont plus des relations honteuses avec une femme et une grossesse qu'on lui reproche, mais la séduction d'un moine ; Anne ne tente pas à toute force de dissimuler son identité mais se laisse volontiers reconnaître par ceux qui la demandent ; ce n'est plus enfin par nécessité qu'elle quitte son monastère, mais de sa propre volonté, en même temps que croît sa réputation d'ascète qui l'amène tout naturellement à fréquenter des personnes des deux sexes.

Ces adaptations s'inscrivent dans le cadre d'une évolution de la spiritualité ascétique : une remise à l'honneur des valeurs familiales et l'apparition d'un nouveau type de sainteté féminine plus «laïque», un développement accru du monachisme et parallèlement, de sa dégradation morale, une liberté de mouvement plus grande laissée aux moniales, avant un retour, aux XI-XII[e] s., à la rigidité de la clôture ([200]).

La réunion et la combinaison de tous ces éléments, qui apparaissent à des degrés divers, dans les *Vies* de l'époque, semble bien venir confirmer

(198) Évelyne Patlagean, *Ancienne hagiographie byzantine et histoire sociale*, dans *Annales E. S. C.*, 21, 3 (1968) pp. 121-122 (réimpr. dans *Structure sociale, famille, chrétienté à Byzance (IV[e]-XI[e] s.)* V, (Variorum Reprints, 134), Londres, 1981).

(199) Id., p. 47.

(200) Malamut, *La moniale à Byzance*, pp. 69-71.

la date des IXe-Xe s. comme l'époque probable de la rédaction originelle à la base de notre notice. En même temps, une fois replacés dans l'ensemble de la série, ces traits acquièrent leur pleine signification et éclairent par leur simple présence l'interprétation des textes antérieurs : Eugénie et ses consœurs avaient autant de raisons d'accomplir ce qu'elles ont accompli que n'en a eu Anne pour modifier son comportement et chaque variante trouve sa légitimité à la lumière de celles qui l'ont précédée.

En outre, l'exemple d'Anne illustre combien le témoignage du *Synaxaire* demeure important pour notre connaissance des mentalités, même par le biais d'un manuscrit unique tardif. Loin d'être esclave de la tradition antérieure, l'auteur de la *Vie* dont le *Synaxaire* constitue un écho ne se contente pas de reproduire avec fidélité des *topoi* établis depuis longtemps ; il se montre tout à fait capable de garder ses distances par rapport à ces modèles, qu'il combine selon ses propres intentions et les exigences de son temps.

Dans leur souci de saisir l'information historique, les chercheurs modernes ont eu trop souvent tendance à négliger cette indépendance, cette flexibilité et la part de l'imagination des auteurs eux-mêmes ([201]), oubliant que l'hagiographie est un genre ouvert qui n'est pas restreint par des règles fixes et demeure capable d'assimiler toute une série de matériaux divers ([202]).

Eugénie et Anne sont deux sœurs qui poursuivent les mêmes buts spirituels, par-delà les siècles qui les séparent. Mais si le fond demeure le même, son expression, elle, a relativement changé, selon l'évolution fluctuante de la société qui l'a créée. Toutes deux obéissent aux mêmes motivations, cependant celles-ci s'illustrent dans un comportement propre à chacune d'elle. Cette évolution fait toute la richesse de leur récit, tout l'intérêt de son analyse : comme j'ai tenté de le prouver dans ce qui précède, elle nous offre de l'hagiographie byzantine une vision vivante et renouvelée, dans laquelle au-delà de la stylisation du récit, l'auteur, par l'entremise de son héros, demeure toujours et avant tout un être humain.

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(201) RYDÈN, *New Forms of Hagiography*, p. 551.
(202) ID., p. 550.

THE EMPRESS THEODORA

Theodora, the whore who became empress, is probably the most famous, certainly the most notorious figure in the millennial history of the Byzantine empire. The lurid detail of contemporary sources allows her life to be reconstructed and her character understood as well as anyone else in the entire period. Romantic and decadent, she has inspired generations of writers and scholars, from Gibbon, through the fin-de-siecle French (who especially appreciated her), to sober modern accounts (1). It would seem that everything is known about her, and all that needs to be said has been. Yet, in a sense, the very abundance of sources is deceptive, for the image they create is full of contradictions. The central problem is that the most detailed and colorful account, the *Secret History* of Procopius, is a venomous pamphlet of dubious merit. It may, as it purports, give a perceptive insider's revelations ; or it may simply be malicious slander. For Theodora, though, it cannot be avoided.

(1) There are too many works on Theodora to list here. They have naturally been influenced by the *Secret History*, first published in the West in 1623. Edward GIBBON, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, cap. 40, sets the tone : 'Theodora, whose strange elevation cannot be applauded as the triumph of female virtue'. The best, and most critical, is probably H.-G. BECK, *Kaiserin Theodora und Prokop,* Munich, 1986. Full reference to the sources can be found in the exhaustive, though sometimes inaccurate, survey of Assunta NAGL in *RE* A10 (1934), cols.1774-1791, s.v. Theodora 11. Ch. DIEHL, *Théodora impératrice de Byzance,* Paris, 1904 is the classic, and very thorough, account. The well-illustrated *Justinian and Theodora* by Robert BROWNING (London 1971) follows DIEHL, as does A. BRIDGE, *Theodora,* London, 1978 who pads the narrative with a great deal about the times. See also, most recently, the comprehensive if not very critical chapter of Lynda GARLAND, *Byzantine Empresses*, London, 1999, pp. 11-39. A. CAMERON, *Procopius*, London, 1985, pp. 49-83 and B. RUBIN, *Das Zeitalter Justinians*, Berlin, 1960, pp. 98-121 add much of interest. For fictional or fictionalized works on Theodora, see CAMERON, *Procopius*, p. 67, n. 1. Fin-de-siecle : Theodora probably reached the height of her modern fame with Victorien SARDOU's spectacular play *Théodora* (1884), a great success that starred Sarah Bernhardt.

The basic question about Theodora, then, is how much can be believed ? Was she the virago of Procopius or something quite different ? Or is it possible to conclude anything at all ? I propose here to examine Theodora's career in the light of all the sources, beginning with a sketch of her life as it would look if the Secret History did not exist — this will produce a very unfamiliar image — then ask some basic questions about her life and career, and in the process to evaluate as much of the Secret History as possible. The result should at least put Theodora in perspective, and serve as a case study of the problems that arise in examining even one of the best known periods of antiquity.

Theodora without the Secret History

Theodora was born in Cyprus, Paphlagonia, Alexandria or Syria (2). By the most circumstantial, though late account, she was the daughter of a monophysite priest on the Euphrates frontier. Justinian met her early in his reign when he was campaigning against the Persians, and persuaded her reluctant father to allow him to marry her on condition that she could keep her monophysite faith (3). Whatever the merits of this story, its chronology is plainly wrong, for more contemporary sources show that Theodora married Justinian before he became emperor and that they were crowned together in 527 (4). The dates of her birth and marriage are not recorded.

In this version, Theodora's early life is completely obscure ; neither the date nor the circumstances of her arrival in the capital are known, nor is there clear evidence of her activities there. A late source reports that she lived in poverty and made her living by spinning wool in a modest house

(2) This question will be discussed below, p. 164-166.

(3) *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus,* tr. E. W. Budge, London, 1932, p. 73f. ; cf. *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, ed. J.-B. Chabot, Paris 1899-1910, II.189 and *Chronicum anonymum ad a.1234 pertinens*, ed. J.-B. Chabot (*CSCO, Scr. syri* III.14), Louvain, 1937, p. 151, which give slightly varying accounts. This story, recorded in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and discussed below, does not appear in contemporary sources.

(4) John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, ed. and tr. E. W. Brooks in *PO* 17, Paris, 1923, p. 189 (henceforth ; IoEph, *Lives*) ; John Malalas, ed. L. Dindorf, Bonn, 1831, p. 422 ; *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf, Bonn, 1832, p. 616.

that was still being shown to tourists in the tenth century ([5]). The contemporary, John of Ephesus, who greatly admired Theodora for her piety, cryptically remarks that she came from the *porneion* or brothel ([6]). In view of her later activities, this would seem to be a mistake, scribal error or interpolation ([7]). Theodora had a sister, Comito, who married Sittas, the commander of the armies in Armenia, in 528 ([8]). She also had a daughter who produced two sons : John, a monophysite, achieved an honorary consulate ; Athanasius became a monophysite monk and was once candidate for the patriarchate of Alexandria ([9]). Since they are never described as descendants of Justinian, it would appear that she had been married previously, most probably to a monophysite. She held the rank of patrician before her accession to the throne ([10]).

Theodora was a devout monophysite and protector of her church. Already before she came to the throne, during Justin I's persecutions, she persuaded her husband to intercede with the emperor on behalf of Mare, bishop of Amida ([11]). As empress, she used her considerable influence to protect monophysite monks, nuns, priests and bishops from a persecution that became intense in 536 and 537. She received large numbers of church leaders in the palace, gave them allowances and provided them with suitable residences, all the while concealing them from the police. Her protection enabled the monophysite church to survive. She extended it to leaders like Severus of Antioch, who had effectively headed the church in the time of Anastasius. When he came to Constantinople from exile in 535, Justinian received him thanks to the influence of Theodora ; Severus remained grateful to her, considering her inspired by God, after

(5) Ps-Codinus, *PatriaCP* III.93 (in Th. PREGER, ed., *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, Leipzig, 1907, II.248) ; on this, see below, p. 165.

(6) IoEph, *Lives* 17.189. *Porneion* is no ambiguous term : see S. LEONTSINI, *Die Prostitution im frühen Byzanz*, Vienna, 1989, p. 54f. This passage has given rise to much discussion, either to reject it (J. B. BURY, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, London, 1923, p. 28 n. 5) or explain it away (A. A. VASILIEV, *Justin I*, Cambridge, Mass., 1950, p. 97).

(7) In this view, the totally garbled account of a later Frankish source, which has Justinian marrying a girl from the *lupanar*, would be dismissed : see below, p. 160.

(8) Malalas, p. 430

(9) *PLRE* III, s.v. Athanasius 5 ; Ioannes 90.

(10) IoEph, *Lives* 17, p. 189.

(11) IoEph, *Lives* 17, p. 188.

his expulsion the next year ([12]). In 537, Theodosius bishop of Alexandria, the highest ranking monophysite cleric, was exiled to Thrace, not far from the capital. Theodora made sure that he had the resources to maintain church organization. After Anthimus, who had briefly been monophysite patriarch of Constantinople in 535-6 was deposed, she hid him in her palace for ten years ([13]).

The Palace of Hormisdas, where she sheltered most of the faithful, virtually became a monastery. There were altars everywhere ; some of the monks lived in individual cells, others as communities. The empress came to receive their grateful blessing every two or three days, and even Justinian, who was officially opposed to the whole business, would visit them. There were so many monks that on one occasion, when several hundred were crowded into one great chamber, the floor collapsed and the shrieking could be heard in the Great Palace. By a miracle, no one was hurt, and the emperor had the structure rebuilt ([14]). Theodora's protection was powerful as long as she lived, but after her death, enemies of the faith persuaded Justinian to move the crowd out of the palace to a smaller house and, when that burned down, to a new monastery ([15]). Monophysites still had a refuge, but a smaller and less spectacular one.

The zeal of the empress enabled the monophysites to send out the missionaries who reestablished their shattered church and spread it to new parts of the East, especially Asia Minor. She sheltered the greatest missionary, Jacob Baradaeus (after whom the monophysite church in Syria is named 'Jacobite') and provided a cover for John of Hephaestopolis who travelled round Anatolia ordaining clergy ; the empress maintained that he was ill the whole time in the villa she had given him. Her protection even reached beyond the imperial frontiers. In 542, when Harith king of the Saracens asked for monophysite bishops she ensured that the faithful would occupy the sees of Hirta (the 'camp' of the Saracens, with jurisdiction over the deserts of Syria and Palestine) and Edessa, where Jacob Baradaeus was installed. At the request of another

(12) Zacharias of Mitylene, tr. F. J. HAMILTON and E. W. BROOKS, London, 1899, pp. 265, 270 ; cf. Evagrius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. J. BIDEZ and L. PARMENTIER, London, 1898, IV.10.

(13) Theodosius : IoEph, *Lives* 18, p. 529 ; Anthimus : *ibid.*, 18.686-7.

(14) IoEph, *Lives*, 18, pp. 676-684.

(15) *Ibid.*, p. 565.

bishop, she wrote to the Queen of Persia asking protection for monophysites there ([16]). More significant for their permanent effects were her efforts in Nubia. Around 541, Julian, a member of the monophysite clergy of Alexandria, eager to spread the faith to the south, asked Theodora for help. She agreed to support his mission, and told Justinian, who did not approve. He ordered the Duke of the Thebaid to provide an orthodox team, but the empress sent a fast messenger requesting the duke to delay Justinian's men and send on Julian. Because of the fear she inspired, he complied, the Nubians were converted and the monophysite faith permanently took root in the Sudan ([17]).

Theodora's influence reached its highest point in 535, when the patriarchs of Alexandria and Constantinople, the most powerful figures in the eastern church, both died. She moved swiftly. One of the eunuchs of her bedchamber who happened to be in Alexandria secured the elevation of the monophysite Theodosius to the vacant throne. He met the immediate resistance of the population, who were devoted to a rival sect and nominated another patriarch. Theodora responded by sending the chief eunuch Narses (later a famous general) with a military force that managed to keep Theodosius in power for a year, until he finally gave up and retired to Constantinople. Justinian exiled him to a place near the capital where the empress looked after him ([18]).

The same year saw her takeover of the church in Constantinople, where she got the secretly monophysite bishop of Trebizond, Anthimus, installed as patriarch. When he entered into communion with Theodosius of Alexandria and Severus, the monophysite leader, orthodox churchmen panicked and appealed to pope Agapetus. By coincidence, the pope arrived in Constantinople in 536 on a mission from the Gothic king, Theodahad, who was trying to save his throne from Justinian's attack. Despite threats and proffered bribes from Theodora, the pope refused to recognize Anthimus, who resigned his position and took refuge with the empress. According to one source, the pope even went so far as to

(16) *Ibid.*, Jacob : 18, p. 691 ; John : 18, pp. 531-537 ; Saracens : 19, pp. 153 ; Queen of Persia : 17, p. 157. For Hirta (for which Bostra sometimes erroneously appears in the literature) see F. HONIGMANN, *Evêques et évêchés monophysites*, Louvain, 1951, pp. 160-162.

(17) John of Ephesus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. E. W. BROOKS in *CSCO, Scr. Syri* 3, Louvain, 1952, III.iv.6.

(18) Liberatus, *Breviarium* 20 (*ACO* II.v, Berlin, 1936) 134f ; cf. W. H. C. FREND, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, Cambridge, 1972, p. 270.

excommunicate Theodora ([19]). Justinian now began the active persecution of monophysites that caused so many of them to seek Theodora's protection.

Orthodoxy triumphed, but Theodora had her revenge on Rome, thanks to an elaborate intrigue. When pope Agapetus died in Constantinople, the empress immediately contacted Vigilius the papal nuncio in the capital, offering to help him become pope if he would then support the monophysite position. Vigilius agreed and returned to Rome, where he found that Silverius, son of a former pope, had already been ordained. He promptly got in touch with Belisarius whose forces were occupying the city, and offered him a huge bribe. The general obliged by having Silverius arrested and exiled on the evidence of fabricated letters between him and the Gothic king. Vigilius was then free to take over the papacy in 537. He had the unfortunate ex-pope killed, then paid his own debts. At the urging of Antonina, Belisarius' wife, he wrote a friendly letter to Theodosius, Anthimus and Severus, the monophysite leaders, supporting their theological positions but asking them to keep the letter secret ([20]). In other words, the empress and Antonina conspired to install a pope sympathetic to the monophysites. Whatever the merits of this account from hostile sources, it confirms Theodora as an enthusiastic patroness of her church ([21]). In the long run, though, it did her cause no good, for Vigilius soon found that he could not resist both the sentiments of Rome and the emperor and publicly subscribed to the orthodox position in 540.

(19) For the Catholic view of Theodora, see Victor Tunnennensis, ed. T. MOMMSEN, *MGH, AA* 11, *CM*2.178-206, Berlin, 1894, pp. 197, 200. Agapetus and Anthimus : *ibid.*, 200, Liberatus, *Brev* 21 ; *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. DUCHESNE, Paris, 1886, p. 59 ; cf. FREND, *Monophysite Movement*, p. 271ff. ; excommunication : VicTunn 200.

(20) Liberatus, *Brev.* 22, VicTunn 200. Both give the tenor, not the text of the letter to the monophysites. It was apparently authentic : see FREND, *Monophysite Movement* 276 n. 1.

(21) The much less detailed account of the *Liber pontificalis*, a work of the sixth or seventh century, is more sympathetic to Belisarius, portrayed as following Theodora's orders with reluctance, and to pope Vigilius, who refuses to cooperate once he is installed as pope. Its view of Theodora is thoroughly negative : see its lives of Silverius and Vigilius, pp. 292f, 296-8. It is followed by Aimoin of Fleury, the late tenth-century chronicler of the Franks, who regards Justinian (certainly not Theodora) as *vir fide catholicus, pietate insignis* : *Gesta francorum* II.xvii, xxxii, III.viii (*PL* 139, col. 678f, 687ff, 697).

Justinian never gave up hope of reaching a settlement with the monophysites. When compromise and persecution failed, he turned to doctrine, in which he was an expert. Theodore Ascidas, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia and a secret monophysite, had the idea of finding common ground between orthodox and monophysites by condemning the writings of three long-dead theologians. Thanks to Theodora's support, the proposal appealed to Justinian who supported it in the Edict of the Three Chapters of 546. The skeptical eastern patriarchs agreed to cooperate if the pope approved. Justinian therefore had Vigilius kidnapped and brought to the capital, where at first he opposed the edict and actually excommunicated the patriarch of Constantinople. After Theodora effected a reconciliation between them, the pope subscribed. This was her last public act ; she died the same year, faithful to the end ([22]).

The monophysites recognized the pious empress as their patron to such an extent that learned disquisitions expressing their view of Christology were dedicated to her. Theodosius, patriarch of Alexandria addressed his refutation of the notion that Christ's knowledge was not entirely divine to Theodora after 538. A similar tract by Constantine, bishop of Laodicea, written before 548 survives only in fragments ([23]). In all this, it seems supremely ironic that an empress with no formal education should be receiving such intricately argued works. Perhaps she, like her husband, became so immersed in the theological controversies of the day that she could understand the debates and express an opinion on them.

Theodora's policies stirred the resentment of the Orthodox. In 530, when the renowned monk Sabas came to the court to ask imperial help for Palestine, the emperor took him in to bless Theodora. She received him with respect, asking him to grant her a child. He gave some vague blessings about the empire, but no response to her request. When he was later asked why he had refused, he replied that no child would come from her, because it would take in monophysite doctrine with her milk and disrupt the church ([24]).

Only one source, the contemporary historian Evagrius, who has little to say about Theodora, cryptically questions her motives, by noting that

(22) Theodora and Ascidas : Liberatus, *Brev.* 24 ; reconciliation : Malalas, p. 483.

(23) For these, see A. van ROEY and P. ALLEN, *Monophysite Texts of the Sixth Century*, Louvain, 1994, pp. 16-56, 66-71.

(24) Cyril of Scythopolis : *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, Leipzig, 1939, p. 173f.

Justinian was orthodox and Theodora monophysite either by conviction or by mutual agreement ([25]). No one else raises a doubt about her sincere devotion to her faith.

The pious empress made many gifts to churches and supported works of charity. Most were in the monophysite East, or the capital which itself had a large monophysite population. She played a major role in the construction of the church of Sergius and Bacchus, next to the palace of Hormisdas that sheltered her monophysite refugees. The dedicatory inscription, still visible, proclaims her virtues : 'May he [Sergius] increase the power of the God-crowned Theodora whose mind is adorned with piety, whose constant toil lies in unsparing efforts to nourish the destitute' ([26]). The capitals of this church, as well as those of St. Irene in Constantinople and St. John in Ephesus, bear her monogram together with that of Justinian. A painting in the church at Ephesus showed her, with Justinian, being crowned by Christ ([27]). Her name was especially conspicuous in Justinian's greatest monument, the cathedral of St. Sophia. It appeared on the capitals, chancel screen, and in the inscription around the high altar, while the embroidered altar cover showed her and Justinian, guided by the Virgin, stretching out their hands to Christ ([28]). Later traditions claim for her the rebuilding of one of the greatest churches of Constantinople, the Holy Apostles, and a legend names her (otherwise unknown) uncle as the builder of the Chora monastery in the capital ([29]). She certainly did build churches in Antioch and a hostel for

(25) Evagrius, IV.10.

(26) A. van MILLINGEN, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*, London, 1912, p. 73f ; see also C. MANGO, *The Church of Sts Sergius and Bacchus at Constantinople and the Alleged Tradition of Octagonal Palatine Churches*, in *JÖB* 21 (1972), pp. 189-193 and *The Church of Sts Sergius and Bacchus once again*, in *BZ* 68 (1975), pp. 385-392. Prof. MANGO proposes that the church was actually built by Theodora for the monophysites, a view that does not command a universal following.

(27) Capitals : St. Irene : van MILLINGEN, *Churches*, pp. 97, 102 ; Ephesus : C. FOSS, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, Cambridge, 1979, p. 89.

(28) Paulus Silentiarius, *Descriptio S. Sophiae*, ed. L. FRIEDLAENDER, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 714-17 (chancel screen), pp. 802-804 (altar hanging) ; inscription : George Cedrenus *Historiarum compendium*, ed. I. BEKKER, Bonn, 1838, I, p. 677.

(29) Holy Apostles : This church is attributed to her only in late sources : in a fanciful account, replete with dream and miraculous discovery of the necessary funds, in the notoriously unreliable *PatriaCP* (late tenth century) IV. 32 (ed.

refugee monks on Chios (convenient, like Ephesus, for its location on shipping routes between Egypt and Constantinople) ([30]). An inscription of Bostra in Syria names her and Justinian, 'the orthodox emperors' as patrons of a chapel dedicated to Job, probably connected with the poor-house that Justinian built in that city, while a boundary stone indicates that 'our most pious rulers, Theodora and Justinian' built a church or monastery of St. James in the Syrian desert ([31]). She gave a cross set with pearls to Jerusalem and another decorated with gold and precious stones to the monophysite shrine of St. Sergius in Sergiopolis on the eastern frontier ([32]).

In the capital, she extended her protection to the poor and the weak, both individually and collectively. When a count of the Domestics died in 528 without enough money to pay his debts, the emperor ordered his daughters brought to Theodora to be provided for in the palace ([33]). She collaborated with Justinian in rebuilding the hospice of Sampson and two others, where the poor and sick were cared for, and in founding another hospice for travellers who had business in the capital but no place to stay ([34]). Her good works were so famed that the bureaucrat John the Lydian wrote a chapter in his book on the Roman magistracies, composed late in the reign of Justinian after the empress' death, about how she helped the public welfare ([35]).

PREGER II. pp. 286-88) ; in a bare statement by Zonaras, *Epitome historiarum*, ed. T. BÜTTNER-WOBST, Bonn, 1897, XIV.7.7 (twelfth century) and in the thirteenth century work of Mesarites I.2, XL.10 : *Nikolaos Mesarites : Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles*, ed. G. DOWNEY in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 47 (1957), pp. 853-924. Chora : P. UNDERWOOD, *The Kariye Djami*, New York, 1966, I, p. 6 ; further bibliography in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, Rome, 1961-1970, XII, p. 250.

(30) Antioch : Malalas, p. 423 ; Chios : IoEph, *Lives* 18.507.

(31) Bostra : *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* (henceforth : *IGLS*). 13 : *Bostra*, ed. M. SARTRE, Paris, 1982, n° 9137, with commentary ; poorhouse : Procopius, *Buildings*, ed. J. HAURY, Leipzig, 1913, V.ix.22 ; desert (north of Hama) : *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, 4, n° 1675*ter*.

(32) Jerusalem : Malalas, p. 423 ; Sergiopolis : Evagrius IV.28, VI.121 ; this cross was carried off by the Persian ruler Chosroes I in 541 but returned by Chosroes II fifty years later.

(33) Malalas, p. 439f.

(34) Hospices : Procopius, *Buildings*, I.ii.17 ; I. xi.24-27.

(35) IoLyd, *deMag*, prooemium iii.15 (= Joannes Lydus, *On Powers*, ed. A. BANDY, Philadelphia, 1983, 8.30) ; the chapter, which appears in the table of contents, is unfortunately missing from the text.

She was particularly concerned with unfortunate women of all kinds ([36]). In one famous case, she forced the general Artabanes, who hoped to marry Justinian's niece, to take back the wife he had deserted. The lady had appealed directly to the empress ([37]). Theodora was also determined to eradicate prostitution from the capital. Whoremasters of the age used to go around the country buying up girls from poor peasants, then consigning them to a life of shame. Theodora, in collaboration with her husband, ordered the brothels closed in 528, and their keepers and procurers rounded up. She redeemed the prostitutes from their servitude by refunding the purchase price to their masters, but recognized that poverty might keep them from leading new lives. Consequently, she gave them clothes, a gold nomisma each and endowed a monastery called Metanoia in a palace on the Bosphorus where the girls could take refuge and gain forgiveness ([38]). All this was part of an imperial program to cleanse the city of vice : a law of 535 expelled procurers, and another of 537 released prostitutes from their obligations to stay in the profession ([39]). Similar laws effected actresses : no one was allowed to force a women, free or slave, to go on stage ; actresses could leave their profession even of they had sworn an oath to stay in it ; and they could marry anyone, even of high rank ([40]). Although none of these laws mentions Theodora, their subject suggests that she had a hand in them.

As empress, Theodora had honor, wealth and power. Justinian recognized her officially as co-ruler ; in the preface to one of his laws, he named his 'most reverend wife given by God' as the partner in his deliberations ([41]). High officials swore a solemn oath to carry out their duties to both the emperor and his wife ([42]). Her name joined Justinian's in the

(36) Concern for women : Procopius, *BellGoth*, ed. J. HAURY, Leipzig, 1913, III.32.

(37) *Ibid.*, III.31.11-14.

(38) Procopius, *Buildings*, I.ix.5-10, Malalas, p. 440f.

(39) *Corpus Juris Civilis, Novellae*, ed. R. SCHOELL and P. KRUEGER, Berlin, 1895 (henceforth, *Nov.*), 35, 51. Curiously, neither of these mentions Theodora, whose name rarely appears in the laws.

(40) *CJ* I.4.33 (a.534), addressed to bishops and referring to the undated *CJ* V.4.5, forbids compulsion and permits marriage, the latter reaffirmed in *Nov.* 117.6 (a.542) ; *Nov.* 51 (a.537) allows women to leave the stage.

(41) *Nov.* 8.1 (a.535).

(42) *Nov.*8 *ad fin* (a.535).

ritual acclamations of the age ([43]). As consort, Theodora corresponded with foreign rulers, notably the king and queen of Gothic Italy, and the queen of Persia, to whom she sent gifts on her accession. She also received them officially : in 535, she presented jewelry to the queen of the Iberians when she came to Constantinople with her husband and a retinue ([44]). Officials who were received at court, wearing suitable dress, paid their respects to her as well as Justinian ([45]). So did Gelimer, captured king of the Vandals, on one of the most spectacular occasions of the reign. When he was brought into the hippodrome to adorn the triumph of Belisarius in 534, he was obliged to prostrate himself before Theodora as well as Justinian ([46]). Her statue stood on a purple column before the baths of Arcadius, and the mosaic on the gate over the entrance to the great imperial palace showed her with Justinian receiving the homage of the vanquished Vandals and Goths in the presence of the admiring Senate ([47]). Cities, forts, a new province in Syria and a new bath building in Carthage were named in her honor ([48]). On the other hand, her image never appears on the coinage, neither alone nor in conjunction with Justinian, though coins traditionally had been struck in the name of empresses.

Theodora had considerable wealth at her disposal, with palaces in the capital and suburbs, and estates in the provinces. A special department of the treasury, 'the pious House of our sacred Augusta' administered the revenues she used to support charity and make grants as far away as

(43) In Constantinople, after the Nika revolt : Theophanes, ed. C. de BOOR, Leipzig, 1883, p. 185 ; in inscriptions above the gate of Cyrrhus in Syria : *IGLS* I.146 ; in Cilicia : G. DAGRON, D. FEISSEL, *Inscriptions de Cilicie*, Paris, 1987, p. 97, no. 52.

(44) Correspondence with Goths : see below, n. 101 ; with Persia : Malalas 467 ; Iberian queen : Theophanes, p. 216.

(45) *Nov.* 30.6 (a.536) ; their respects took the novel form of prostration : see below, p. 156.

(46) Zonaras, XIV.7.41 ; Gelimer was reluctant to submit to what he saw as humiliation until Belisarius set him an example.

(47) Procopius, *Buildings*, I.xi.8, I.x.17.

(48) Procopius, *Buildings*, IV.vii.5 (Theodoropolis in Moesia), Drobeta on the Danube renamed Theodora : *RE* s.v. Theodora 1. Theodorias : Procopius, *Buildings*, IV.v.14 (Vaga in Africa), Malalas, p. 444 (fort Anasarthon), p. 448 (Syrian province) and probably Agathias, *Historiae*, ed. R. KEYDELL, Berlin, 1967, V.1.4 (a city in Pontus) ; Theodorianae baths in Carthage : Procopius, *Buildings*, IV.v.10.

Italy ([49]). The empress moved in great style. In 529, when she visited the springs of Pythia in Bithynia, a retinue of 4000, including the praetorian prefect and the Count of the Sacred Largesses, accompanied her. On this occasion, too, she gave generously to the local churches ([50]). Her only certain representation, the famous mosaic of San Vitale in Ravenna, gives a suitable image of Theodora's power, wealth and retinue ([51]).

Theodora's letter to the queen of Persia, her successful mission to Nubia, her installation of bishops and even a patriarch and a pope indicate considerable power, sometimes used to promote policies that seemed contrary to the will of the Emperor. Two of the most famous incidents in her career show that she could guide the emperor and that not even the greatest official of the state could resist her.

In 532, when the Nika revolt destroyed the centre of the capital and shook the imperial throne, Theodora saved the situation. Like the emperor, she had already been the subject of insulting acclamations during the brief moment when the mob had crowned the reluctant Hypatius, nephew of the emperor Anastasius, but she had not otherwise received the popular anger that demanded the removal of the great ministers ([52]). The situation became so desperate that Justinian seriously considered abandoning the capital. Alone among his advisers, Theodora refused to cooperate, giving a magnificent speech that showed the folly of retreat and concluding with the bold proclamation that empire would be the best shroud as far as she was concerned. These words — the empress' first active participation in politics — stiffened the emperor's resolve, and saved the day ([53]). This was her finest moment, but not her last in this crisis. When the revolt was suppressed, the wretched Hypatius was

(49) *Nov.* 28.5, 29.4 (both of 535), 30.6,11 (a.536), estates in Pontus, Paphlagonia and Cappadocia ; cf. *CJ* VII.37.3 (a.531), addressed to two *curatores* of her estates ; grants in Italy : *Nov.*, App. VII.1 (*constitutio pragmatica*, 554).

(50) Malalas, p. 441.

(51) On this, see I. ANDREESCU-TREADGOLD and W. TREADGOLD, *Procopius and the Imperial Panels of S. Vitale*, in *Art Bulletin*, 79 (1997), pp. 708-723 ; the authors plausibly identify the scene as commemorating the engagement of Theodora's grandson to Belisarius' daughter.

(52) Acclamations : mentioned only by *ChronPasch.*, p. 625.

(53) Procopius, *BellPers*, ed. J. HAURY, Leipzig, 1905, I.24.33 ; the speech does not appear in any other account of the revolt. See CAMERON, *Procopius*, p. 69, who sees it as a set piece rather than an authentic speech.

brought before Justinian, who was willing to pardon him (he had, after all, not wanted to join the rebels), but Theodora, in a rage, successfully demanded his execution ([54]). Here, too, her will appears stronger than the emperor's.

Popular resentment in 532 was directed against the praetorian prefect, John of Cappadocia, who raised vast sums for Justinian's grand projects and consequently enjoyed the emperor's unshaken support. Theodora, however, hated him, inspired, according to John the Lydian, by her sympathy with those he had wronged. Concerned that the Cappadocian was ruining the state, she tried to persuade Justinian to remove him but had no success until the Nika revolt when John was deposed to placate the people ([55]). After the situation calmed, however, Justinian restored him, despite Theodora's implacable hostility. Finally, Antonina, who wanted to secure the empress's favor, found a solution. In 541, she tricked John's young daughter into believing a false plot to depose Justinian in favor of Belisarius. The girl reported it to her father who listened eagerly. Antonina revealed the details to Theodora who then caught John in treasonous remarks and succeeded in ruining him ([56]).

Theodora's vengeance had already struck another grand official, Priscus, honorary consul, commander of the imperial guard and former secretary to the emperor. In 529, he was forcibly ordained a deacon and exiled, his property confiscated ; all this because he was accused of insulting the empress ([57]). The fear inspired in the governor of Egypt when she ordered him to ignore the emperor's mission to Nubia seems comprehensible, especially in view of the vindictive streak manifest in these cases. Theodora obviously could count on a body of support ; beside the monophysites, Antonina was plainly a close collaborator, already met in the affair of pope Vigilius. Yet, on the whole, Theodora's influence on the empire appears to have been overwhelmingly benign. She supported churches and charity and even in the case of John the Cappadocian disposed of a minister who was widely hated and suspected of great corruption.

After reigning 21 years, Theodora died of metastasized cancer on 28 June 548. She was buried in a marble sarcophagus in the Church of the

(54) Zacharias, p. 246.
(55) John Lydus, *deMag* iii. 69, ed. BANDY, pp. 240-248.
(56) Procopius, *BellPers*, I.25.
(57) Malalas, p. 449 app (text from *de Insidiis)* ; cf. Theophanes, p. 186.

Holy Apostles which she had dedicated. Her husband eventually came to rest beside her in the chapel named for himself ([58]). In later centuries, their memory was celebrated with the saints in the Church of Saint Sophia every year on 14 November ([59]). If the texts used so far were the only ones that survived, she would have gone down in history as a pious empress, devoted to the monophysites, but with a capacity for intrigue and a mean streak. She would fit well into the image of the powerful but devout queens of the fifth century, and probably have attracted no undue attention from historians. Unfortunately for her reputation — though not for future writers — the Secret History survived and has imprinted a completely different and more lurid image on the popular and scholarly minds.

Theodora of the Secret History

The Secret History (SH) presents a Theodora strikingly different in her early life, her character and her role in running the State. It has virtually nothing to say about her ecclesiastical policy, and gives not the slightest suggestion of her pious devotion to the church or good works.

According to this version, Theodora was the product of the hippodrome and the stage ([60]). The daughter of the bear keeper of the Green faction, she rapidly followed her elder sister Comito into acting, dancing and prostitution. She entered the sex business, in a brothel, even before she was old enough to perform normally, but surpassed everyone in her voracious appetites and unrestrained talents. She also excelled as a comic and a performer in pornographic shows. Her portrayal of Leda and the swan was her most notorious act. Envious and spiteful toward her fellow per-

(58) For the date : Theophanes, p. 225, cf. Procopius, *BellGoth*, VII.30 ; cancer : VicTunn, 202 ; tomb : Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De ceremoniis*, ed. J. Reiske, Bonn, 1829-1830, II.42, p. 372.

(59) *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. H. Delehaye, *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, Brussels, 1902, p. 224 ; cf. S. Eustratiades, *Ἁγιολόγιον τῆς ὀρθοδόξου ἐκκλησίας*, Athens, 1960, p. 222. The *Synaxarium* is evidence for a cult in the tenth century or earlier ; Nicephorus Callistus, *Eccl. hist.*, 17.31 (*PG* 147, col. 301) reports that it was still being celebrated in the reign of Alexius Comnenus (1081-1118) ; however, he mentions only Justinian.

(60) Nothing like the classical stage, but the setting for all kinds of erotic entertainment : for the milieu, see Beck, pp. 69-82, Leontsini, pp. 118-137 and

formers, she was shunned by all respectable people. She had many lovers and many abortions. She eventually attached herself to the governor of Cyrenaica and when he threw her out, worked her way as a whore through the eastern provinces as she returned to the capital. Somehow, she met Justinian, who fell in love with her, and adorned her with the title of patrician and with great wealth. He wanted to marry her, but the old empress, herself an ex-slave, would not hear of it. After she died, Justinian got his uncle the emperor to pass a law that allowed a senator to marry an actress. He then married her so that she could ascend the throne with him ([61]). This image of Theodora, the harlot queen, is basic to all later writing.

The Secret History emphasizes her character, her vindictive pursuit of her enemies, and her humiliation of high officials. Theodora paid much attention to her appearance, bathed and slept a great deal, ate well, and usually resided in a palace on the seashore ([62]). She never forgave those who slighted her or seemed a threat, but persecuted them unremittingly. People who fell afoul of her were imprisoned in secret dungeons under her palace, where they were kept in the dark and waited on by mute servants ([63]). Others were viciously punished or even executed ; they were lucky to escape with mere exile. Few were acquitted once Theodora had accused them ([64]).

Not even the most powerful were safe. In 542, when the news that Justinian had contracted the plague reached the frontier, the highest commanders there, Belisarius and Buzes, agreed not to recognize any new emperor chosen in the capital without their participation. When this was reported to Theodora after the emperor's recovery, she had Belisarius removed from his command and Buzes brought back to the capital to languish in her dungeon ([65]). Vain and vindictive, she was also avaricious.

(61) Procopius, *Secret History*, ed. J. HAURY, Leipzig, 1906 (henceforth *SH*) ix.47-51.

(62) *SH*, xv.6-9, 36.

(63) The existence of these dungeons is ironic in view of the specific prohibition of private prisons by Justinian : *CJ* IX.5.2 (a.529).

(64) In *SH*, dungeons iii.21 ; prisoners : Photius, Belisarius' stepson iii.22, senator Theodosius iii.9-11, general Buzes iv.1-12 ; killed : Amalasuntha xvi.1-5, Basianus xvi.18-21, Callinicus xvii.1-4 ; rumored killed : Areobindus xvi.11, Theodora's son John xvii.16-23 ; tortured : prisoners above, friends of Belisarius and Photius iii.8, Theodore xvi.25-26 ; exiled : Priscus xvi.6-10 ; slandered but acquitted : Diogenes xvi.23-28.

(65) *SH*, iv.1-12.

Behind her harassment of Belisarius lay the desire to get hold of his vast fortune. In fact, when he was first deposed, the empress confiscated most of his wealth. Restored to favor, he still had substantial resources which she determined to get into her own family by marrying her grandson to his daughter despite the opposition of the girl's parents (66).

The empress specialized in humiliation. Anyone who wished to see her, no matter how high his rank, would be kept waiting in an antechamber, and even then, when admitted to the royal presence, was not allowed to speak unless she commanded ; many were sent away without a word after kissing her feet. This prostration, where the subject fell flat on his face and kissed the sovereigns' feet, was an innovation of Justinian and Theodora ; formerly, no such obeisance was rendered to an empress (67). When an elderly patrician came to collect a debt one of Theodora's servants owed him, she and her eunuchs sung insulting verses and sent him away empty-handed (68).

Theodora was especially concerned with marriages (69). After much effort, she managed to marry her grandson to Belisarius' daughter. At the same time, she so hounded Justinian's popular cousin Germanus that it was almost impossible for his children to marry at all, and his daughter had to settle for a husband of lower rank (70). She similarly obliged two widows of the highest aristocracy to marry men of far lower rank, and made the son of a patrician marry the daughter of a prostitute friend of hers. When he complained that the girl was not a virgin, Theodora had him tossed in the air like an errant child, then whipped (71). In all those cases, she was evidently trying to reduce the influence of potential rivals by depriving them of valuable family connections. Husbands were another class she liked to bring down. Her court was notorious for the shamelessness of its women, who would carry on open affairs. When husbands protested, Theodora would have them whipped and promote the lovers.

(66) *SH*, iv.36f, v.18-24.

(67) *SH*, xv.13-16, xxx.21-26.

(68) *SH*, xv.25-35.

(69) Her most successful — though nothing is known of the circumstances — may have been the marriage of her niece Sophia to Justinian's nephew, the future emperor Justin II. For Theodora's possible (but unattested) role, see GARLAND, *Byzantine Empresses*, p. 41.

(70) *SH*, v. 8.

(71) Control of marriages : *SH*, xvii.28 ; widows : *SH*, xvii.7-14 ; son of patrician : *SH*, xvii.32-37.

Even the great Belisarius was only restored to favor by a letter of Theodora, sparing him execution as a favor to her friend Antonina, whom he had to thank in the most humiliating terms ([72]).

The whole population was terrified of her, not least because she had spies everywhere — in the market and even in people's homes ([73]). Theodora controlled all appointments to high office, civil and ecclesiastical ; anyone who received an office without her approval was likely to be dismissed and hounded to death ([74]). Her spies, who brought in masses of accusations that she heard with great care, and her ability to bribe servants to testify against their masters made it easy for her to fabricate accusations. Judges eager to please the empress would willingly condemn, and the victim would rarely escape with his fortune, if not his life. By the same token, her favorites could escape punishment for the most heinous crimes ([75]). No one, not even the greatest minister, John of Cappadocia, could stand against her. The SH adds that she pursued him into exile, constantly trying to find new ways to eliminate him altogether ([76]). On the other hand, she could reward her friends richly : she planned to make Antonina's lover Theodosius a general had he not died prematurely ([77]).

Theodora intervened openly and secretly in foreign affairs. In 542, she wrote to the Persian ambassador asking him to persuade his monarch to make peace, and promising him rewards from the emperor who, she wrote, did nothing without consulting her. When king Chosroes found out, he was appalled that a woman should be in control of the state ([78]). More insidiously, when Justinian was negotiating with the Goths and had promised their ex-queen Amalasuntha refuge, Theodora gave secret orders to Justinian's ambassador, Peter the Illyrian, to persuade the Gothic king to have her killed. This murder was the product of Theodora's jealousy and suspicion of Amalasuntha as a possible rival ([79]).

Theodora did not work alone. The contemporary African chronicler Victor of Tunnunna frequently mentioned the workings of her *factio* ; the

(72) Husbands : *SH*, xvii.24-26 ; Belisarius, *SH*, iv.14-31.
(73) Fear : *SH*, iii.26 ; spies : xvi.13f.
(74) *SH*, xvii.27, xv.10.
(75) *SH*, xv.20-23 ; cf. *SH*, xvi.24 for servants.
(76) *SH*, xvii.38-45.
(77) *SH*, iii.19.
(78) *SH*, ii.33-36.
(79) *SH*, xvi.1-5.

SH identifies some of its members. Most prominent, of course, was Antonina who became a close associate after her help with Pope Vigilius and John of Cappadocia ([80]). Peter the Illyrian, who had Amalasuntha killed, was rewarded with the title of patrician and became Master of Offices, one of the highest officials of the empire, through Theodora's influence. She discovered Peter Barsymes, a dishonest banker, and made him her agent ; he soon achieved the praetorian prefecture. When Justinian finally dismissed him, Theodora made sure that he became Count of the Sacred Largesses ([81]). She supported the general Sergius despite his disastrous performance in Africa because he was a suitor of Antonina's granddaughter ; likewise she and Justinian let Sergius' brother literally get away with murder ([82]). Arsenius the Samaritan had risen to great wealth and influence thanks to (unspecified) service to the empress, but he lost her favor when he became an orthodox Christian and she willingly had him impaled when he was involved in a murder in Egypt ([83]). She could, of course, break members of her following as well as make them.

Her friends also included members of her former profession, notably Antonina. One of them, the dancer and prostitute Chrysomallo, had a daughter who made a very advantageous marriage. Saturninus, son of one of the high officials of the empire, was torn away from his fiancee and forced by Theodora to marry the girl. Theodora's entourage included another Chrysomallo and Indaro, both of whom had 'exchanged the phallus and the theatre' for life in the palace ([84]). Theodora's palace was filled with such women, as well as the magicians and sorcerers whom Theodora and Antonina had long enjoyed consulting ([85]). As fellow denizens of the theatre, they would have formed a large and natural part of the ladies' early environment ([86]).

Although her friends and agents spread her influence, Procopius makes it clear that her power derived from her close collaboration with Justinian, in which the royal pair only pretended to follow different policies. This

(80) *SH*, i.14.
(81) Illyrian : *SH*, xvi.5 ; Barsymes : *SH*, xxii.3-38.
(82) *SH*, v.28-38.
(83) *SH*, xxvii.6-19.
(84) These names are both characteristic of prostitutes : LEONTSINI 48-50.
(85) *SH*, xvii.33-36 ; magicians : *SH*, xxii.27 ; cf. *SH*, i.12 (on Antonina).
(86) For these, see LEONTSINI, pp. 130-132, and the whole chapter, pp. 113-137 on the people who made up the world of the theatre.

affected the church, the factions, and lawsuits. In all cases, they pretended to take opposite sides to strengthen their own power by dividing the people. A typical scenario would involve Justinian advancing men to high positions, where they would steal money. As soon as they appeared to be too rich, Theodora would discover that they had offended her, and take action. The emperor would protest fitfully but stand by while his wife ruined the officials in question, then happily confiscate their property ([87]). In other words, her power was exercised together with Justinian ; they only pretended to follow different policies.

A general reading of the SH gives the impression that no one in the empire could escape the power of Theodora. Yet a closer view reveals some limits. Although she took special interest in marriages in court circles, she could not simply compel people to follow her desires. For some years, Antonina managed to keep her daughter from marrying Theodora's grandson, until finally the empress encouraged the two to sleep together, thereby potentially ruining the girl's reputation. Similarly, her threats could not stop John son of Vitalian from marrying the daughter of Germanus ([88]). Her scheme to convict Diogenes, a prominent member of the Green faction, of homosexuality, failed even though she suborned his servants and tortured one of his associates. As a man of rank, Diogenes received a public trial where he was acquitted ([89]). In this case, at least, the empress was not above the law.

Checking the Secret History

The Theodora of the Secret History is hardly recognizable as the empress who appears in the other sources. For them, piety and charity are her greatest characteristics, and the most colorful scenes they portray are the palace full of eastern monks and the splendid speech that saves Justinian. The SH portrays a vindictive woman, fond of humiliating the powerful, capable of interfering in everything and feared by everyone. There, the most colorful scene is in the Hippodrome where the young Theodora displayed her talents. Her palace was filled with whores. Both, though, show that she had a great capacity for intrigue, that even the most powerful could fall victim, and that she inspired fear widely. Still, the

(87) *SH*, xi.15-23.
(88) Daughter of Belisarius : *SH*, v.18-22 ; of Germanus : *SH*, v. 8-14.
(89) *SH*, xvi.23-28.

images are drastically different, and the central question about her is simply : what can be believed ? In particular, how far, if at all, can the SH be trusted ? For that, it will be helpful to compare instances where the same information appears in the SH and any other sources, and to look for internal contradictions within the SH itself.

The lurid details of Theodora's early career appear only in the SH. In the light of them, though, John of Ephesus' cryptic phrase about the queen from the *porneion* takes on added meaning. So does the fabulous story recounted by the seventh-century Frankish chronicler 'Fredegarius' (90). His narrative has Justinian and Belisarius enjoying, then later marrying two sisters from the *lupanar*. Although he thinks that Theodora was called Antonia, it is hard to see how he could have learned this version of her origins unless scandalous stories had been widely diffused.

Theodora did, in fact, have a sister called Comito, but nothing is known of her early life beyond what the SH narrates. Her name ('companion' from the Latin comes), though, is typical for a prostitute (91). More significant are the circumstances of Theodora's marriage. Procopius claims that Justinian had a special law passed to allow a senator to marry a courtesan (92). Such a law exists : *Codex Iustinianus* V.4.23 issued in 521 or 522 allows repentant actresses to be liberated from their status just as freed slaves are treated as if they had never been slaves ; their children of past or future marriages are to be legitimate and have full rights of inheritance. Such women are allowed to marry certain men who had previously been forbidden to contract alliances with them. The wording of the law, which has no precedent — senators and even free citizens had long been forbidden to marry actresses or their daughters — certainly sounds as if it were designed for Theodora, especially when it adds clauses about actresses who had received high dignities, and provides that their daughters also be free of the stain of the stage. The law would, of course, equally apply to her sister Comito, her friend Chrysomallo and most probably

(90) Fredegarius, II.62, ed. B. KRUSCH in *MGH, Scr.Rer.Merov.* 2, Berlin 1888, p. 85. He is followed (in much more elegant Latin) by Aimoin de Fleury II.5 (*PL* 139, col. 665f).

(91) LEONTSINI, p. 47f.

(92) *SH*, ix.52.

Antonina. It seems to offer substantial evidence that Theodora had once been on the stage ([93]).

Theodora's secret dungeons do not appear elsewhere, but she clearly pursued her enemies with vicious determination. The most famous example, John of Cappadocia, appears not in the SH, which only adds details, but in Procopius' laudatory account of Justinian's wars ; that is, Theodora's role in his destruction was openly acknowledged. Her intrigues with Pope Vigilius appear in western sources. All these confirm Antonina as a prime collaborator. They corroborate the image of a powerful empress who was widely feared.

Although most of the personalities or incidents recorded in the SH do not appear elsewhere, there is occasionally corroboration. Procopius blames Theodora for the fall of Priscus, commander of the palace guard, banished and tonsured because he had insulted her. The contemporary chronicler Malalas gives exactly the same reason in a less circumstantial account ([94]). Arsenius the Samaritan, presented by Procopius as the agent of Theodora appears in Cyril's *Life of St. Sabas* as enjoying easy access to the emperor and empress and stirring them up against the Christians of Palestine ([95]).

Other examples are suggestive. The SH reports that Theodora had the governor of Cilicia, Callinicus, impaled because he had executed two thugs of the Blue faction ; Evagrius gives the same story independently, only without mention of the empress ([96]). That is, the incident actually happened, whether or not Theodora was involved. The SH accuses Theodora of forcing two girls of the high aristocracy to marry unworthy men. Since the girls are mentioned as the descendants of three generations of consuls, the possibilities are limited. One of them was most probably Juliana, daughter of Magnus, consul in 518 ; her grandfather and great grandfather were also consuls. She was married to Marcellus, nephew of Justinian, a match below her station, perhaps, but of suitably

(93) See the convincing discussion of D. DAUBE, *The Marriage of Justinian and Theodora' in his* Collected Studies in Roman Law, Frankfurt, 1991, pp. 1223-1244. He shows the connection between the law and Theodora's circumstances, and also believes that a phrase freeing these women from 'any other stain' refers to her life as a prostitute. That seems hypothetical. Note that the law does not specifically refer to senators or to the rank of patrician.

(94) *SH*, xvi.7-10 ; Malalas, p. 449 and app. (= fr. 45).

(95) *SH*, xxvii.6-9 ; Cyril of Scythopolis, p. 171.

(96) *SH*, xvii.2-4 ; Evagrius, IV, p. 32.

high rank (97). Such a marriage certainly would suit Theodora's policy of uniting the imperial family to the highest aristocracy, as shown in the case of Praeiecta, Justinian's niece whom she obliged to marry a relative of the emperor Anastasius (98).

Occasionally, Procopius confirms or explains actions that the SH casts in a negative light. The most notorious concerns the empress' convent for reformed prostitutes. In the *Buildings*, this appears as a work of the greatest piety, consonant with imperial policies. The SH, though, portrays Theodora as punishing, not redeeming sin by collecting 500 whores from the marketplace and locking them up in a monastery on the opposite shore of the Bosphorus. Some so hated their new life that they jumped from the walls to escape (99). This lone hint of Theodora's good works in the SH is presented instead as another example of her cruelty.

One of the worst instances of Theodora's viciousness was her treatment of Basianus, the prominent Green, accused of insulting her. She had him castrated, killed and confiscated his property. Whatever he had actually said against her, she also accused him of homosexuality, for which the normal penalty of the time was castration. Justinian was especially fervent against homosexuality. In one notorious case in 528, three bishops and a former prefect of the guard were convicted and paraded around the city with their amputated members on display. In this case, Theodora may have fabricated the charge, but not the penalty (100).

According to the SH, Theodora played a decisive role in the highest levels of foreign and internal affairs, even corresponding with foreign potentates. Procopius presents her letter to the Persian ambassador as if it were an outlandish intrusion that allowed the Persian king to ridicule female rule in Byzantium. Yet John of Ephesus shows her corresponding with the Persian queen as a natural part of her role, and the most notorious case of her interference, the murder of Amalasuntha, involves correspondence that has actually survived. A letter to the empress from the Gothic king Theodahad confirms that Peter the Illyrian was Theodora's

(97) *PLRE* III Juliana 1. See the genealogical table in Alan CAMERON, *The House of Anastasius*, in *GRBS* 19 (1978), p. 274, modified by accepting *PLRE*'s identification of Juliana as daughter of Magnus the consul. Her sister is unknown.

(98) Procopius, *BellGoth*, III.31.2-16 ; cf. *PLRE* III Praeiecta 1.

(99) *SH*, xvii.5-6.

(100) Basianus : *SH*, xvi.18-21. A garbled reminiscence of this seems to appear in ps-Codinus, *PatriaCP*, III.50 (ed. Preger II, p. 235). Punishment for homosexuality : Malalas, p. 436, *SH*, xi.34-36 ; cf. *Nov.* 77, 141 (559).

personal emissary, cryptically refers to 'that person about whom a gentle hint had reached us' and promises that 'something has been ordered that will suit your desires'. It also shows that Theodora had asked the king to consult her first, before presenting matters to Justinian. This diplomatic language, which almost certainly refers to the murder of Amalasuntha, lends credence to Procopius' accusation ([101]).

In the case of Belisarius, there is no direct supporting text, but a different way of seeing his fall from power. In the SH, Theodora's desire to confiscate his wealth merely reflects her own jealousy and avarice. But a closer examination of the account suggests something more rational : Justinian and Theodora had long suspected that the great general had actually stolen and concealed a great treasure looted from his campaign in Africa ([102]). In that case, it would be natural to try to recover as much of it as possible for the fisc.

These parallels do not mean that the SH provides a totally reliable account, but they do suggest that, as far as Theodora is concerned, it has a greater foundation in fact than is usually accepted. Procopius seems to have distorted and magnified far more than he has invented or merely slandered ([103]). Where his statements in the SH can be checked against other sources, they seem remarkably accurate ; there are many instances of convergence if not of outright confirmation. Yet, Procopius' interpretations should be viewed with caution : even where the facts agree, he will cast blame on Theodora although she may have been no more responsible than Justinian. Casting her in a negative light and stressing the evil and vicious sides of her activities, he omits or distorts anything positive and has nothing to say about her works of piety and charity. When he cannot be checked, his account probably deserves the benefit of the doubt in

(101) Cassiodorus, *Variae*, ed. T. MOMMSEN, *MGH*, *AA* 12.1-385, Berlin, 1894, X.20 : 'talem virum vestra serenitas destinavit...et vestra decet obsequia retinere' ; cf. X.24 : from Queen Gudeliva to Theodora, where Peter is named. Hint : X.20.4 : 'nam et de illa persona, de qua ad nos aliquid verbo titillante pervenit, hos ordinatum esse cognoscite, quod vestris credidimus animis convenire'. Cf. X.20 (Theodahad to Theodora) : 'hortamini ut quicquid expetendum a...iugali vestro credimus, vestris ante sensibus ingeramus.' Note the remarks of BURY (above, n. 6) II.165-167 who accepts the connection between the SH and Cassiodorus and adduces a further hint in X.21, from Gudeliva to Theodora : 'emersit tamen qualitas rei, quae nos efficere cariores vestrae debeat aequitati'.

(102) *SH*, iv.33.

(103) See the discussion of CAMERON, *Procopius*, pp. 49-83, esp. pp. 57-60 on the *SH* as an invective or anti-panegyric.

matters that he knew personally — especially public business and anything that involved Belisarius — but subject to extreme caution when he was relying on hearsay or gossip from periods before he came to the capital or moved in its ruling circles.

A clearer understanding of Theodora and her historian may emerge by trying to answer a few basic questions about her in the light of all the available information. This discussion may begin with the beginning, where the problems will at once become obvious.

When and where was she born ?

For the date, the sources give no direct information, and for the place, too much. Theodora's age can only be calculated indirectly. Her sister Comito was six when her father died, during the reign of Anastasius. That is, she was born not before 485, and possibly as late as 512. Theodora was younger, probably by two or three years ([104]). Procopius reports that she had a son, John, by a lover when she was still on the stage ; he suddenly appeared after she had married Justinian ; he was then a *meirakion*, probably a teenager ([105]). He was therefore born before 513 and possibly a few years earlier. In 530, she could still hope to have a child, so was probably not over forty ([106]). Theodora had three grandsons (one attested only in the SH) by a daughter about whom nothing is known ([107]). One of them married Belisarius' daughter in 547 ; he was most likely born well before 533 ([108]). Another, John, was honorary consul by 562 and then an adult,

(104) The only source for this information is *SH*, ix.2-12, impossible to verify. Relative age : the youngest sister was already a girl, not a baby, when her father died, so no more than four years younger than Comito. Theodora was still immature when her sister was already a well-known prostitute.

(105) *SH*, xvii.16-23 ; this child is otherwise unknown.

(106) See above, n. 9.

(107) The law of 521 or 522, which mentions actresses' daughters seems to confirm her existence.

(108) *SH*, v.18-24, which indicates that both were young, but past puberty in 547 (they were married for eight months before Theodora's death) ; they had been engaged since 543 : *SH*, iv.37. There is a serious problem here : Procopius describes Antonina as being sixty in 544. If she was born around 484, her daughter would not have been much less than nineteen in 543, and hardly a *paidiske* in 547. If the narrative is even generally true, it would seem that Joannina was a very late child, and that she was much older than Anastasius ; hence, perhaps, a real objection to the marriage. But it is unprofitable to pursue the vague and often

so born probably before 542. The third, Athanasius, was a monophysite monk who was candidate for the patriarchate of Alexandria in 566, so not born after 536 ([109]). All this suggests that Theodora's daughter was born around 510-515. Convergent evidence, then, would suggest Theodora's birth took place about 490 ; perhaps a few years later, but not much earlier. In that case, she was in her thirties when she married Justinian, close to forty when she became empress, and almost sixty when she died.

Sources variously report that Theodora came from Paphlagonia, Cyprus, Syria, or Alexandria ; the SH never states but strongly implies that she was a native of the capital. The latter is by far the most probable ; three of the others can be eliminated immediately, though another possibility can perhaps be added. For the SH, she was the daughter of the bear keeper in the Hippodrome, who died when she was very young. Since there is no indication that he had acquired his job recently, it is most probable that his children were natives of the capital. In any case, despite its appearance in many modern works, Paphlagonia had nothing to do with this Theodora. The late and notoriously unreliable source that names it, along with the empress' humble existence spinning wool in a modest house, actually refers to another Theodora, wife of the emperor Theophilus (843-848), who did come from Paphlagonia ([110]). Likewise, the stories that make her the daughter of a Syrian priest can be rejected as a late monophysite legend to give her a more suitable origin ; they appear only in the twelfth century, not in the contemporary monophysite writers. Cyprus is equally implausible as her birthplace : the passage of the fourteenth century historian that reports it is hopelessly garbled. It actually deals with Justinian's foundations in the Balkans — Justiniana Prima his birthplace, and Justiniana Secunda which somehow gets identified as Cyprus, home of Theodora. No bishopric Justiniana is attested in Cyprus ; the place of that name was actually in Macedonia, an area that fits the general context. Conceivably, the text actually had Theodora like

malicious details of the SH too far. Note that Antonina had many children before she married Belisarius, and that her granddaughter was old enough for the general Sergius to woo around 544 ; i.e. born before 530 : see *PLRE* III Antonina 1.

(109) See *PLRE* III Ioannes 90 and Athanasius 5.

(110) See above, n. 5 ; for the correct identification, see G. DAGRON, *Constantinople imaginaire*, Paris, 1984, p. 319.

Justinian coming from the Balkans, but it hardly inspires confidence ([111]). Alexandria remains as a vague possibility, but, it too is attested only in one very late source. Most probably, then, Theodora was born in Constantinople around 490.

What did she do before she became empress ?

There seems no reason to doubt that Theodora was an actress, with all the stigma that implies. One word of John of Ephesus and the law about actresses offer general confirmation for Procopius. If she were the product of the Hippodrome, she probably went on the stage when she reached maturity, at the age of 12-14, during the reign of Anastasius, and soon achieved real notoriety.

According to the SH, she stopped in Alexandria on her way back to the capital after being thrown out by her lover, the governor of Libya. Modern writers often state that in Alexandria Theodora met the monophysite patriarch Timothy, and even Severus, leader of the monophysite church, and underwent a religious conversion that changed the entire course of her life ([112]). This of course is totally incompatible with Procopius' version, but makes it much easier for the same authors to envision Theodora subsequently spinning wool in her humble house in Constantinople. In this version, the harlot's reform has an explanation. Various attempts are made to explain how or why the patriarch should have received such a notorious woman and how he effected her conversion. Such efforts are not necessary. The entire story rests on a statement of the seventh-century Egyptian chronicler John of Nikiu, that Theodora called Timothy her spiritual father. Why else, it seems, than that he had converted her ? Unfortunately, the chronicler's passage, as has long been shown, is full of anachronisms, confusing Timothy with the later patriarch Theodosius whom Theodora helped put on the throne in 535. As a

(111) Nicephorus Callistus, XVII.28 (*PG* 147, col. 292). For Justiniana Secunda (modern Lipljan) see Procopius, *Buildings,* IV.i.29. If that were the home of Theodora, though, why not call it Theodorias or something similar ? In any case, the mention of Cyprus, which breaks the context, has every appearance of an interpolation. On the other hand, Nicephorus Callistus, XVI.38 (*PG* 147, col. 199), probably drawn from another source, presents an abridged version that simply has Justinian favoring the church of Cyprus because Theodora came from there.

(112) e.g., Diehl, p. 42f, followed (as usual) by Browning, p. 68 and, at great length by Bridge, pp. 21-33.

source, it is quite worthless ([113]). This relation, therefore, may disappear from Theodora's history and remove at least one anomaly.

Theodora's affair with Hecebolus took place in the reign of Justin. By then, she had evidently made great social progress. She had also given birth to one or two children, and quite possibly been married to the father of one of them. His name is not recorded. She was now close to thirty. No source tells how she met Hecebolus, but Procopius gives a hint. Men of rank would hold drinking parties where girls like Theodora were invited as part of the entertainment. She is recorded on one such occasion as drawing up her dress indecently and displaying herself to the banqueters ([114]). Whatever the merits of that anecdote, such a party was the most likely occasion for an actress to meet respectable men. Real prostitutes, of course, also met men of all classes, who sometimes took pity on them and married them in order to release them from their shameful condition ([115]). Since society made little distinction between actresses and prostitutes, the association of Theodora with a brothel may only reflect her early life on the stage ([116]). So far, Theodora seems to have made the acquaintance of the ruling class, but not yet attached herself permanently to any of them. For an actress, such a marriage was unthinkable ; virtually all public entertainers married within their own caste, and women of the stage had long been forbidden to marry respectable men ([117]).

There is a quite different route by which a woman like Theodora might have met the rich and powerful. From childhood, she was an ardent member of the Blue faction which together with its rival the Greens was central to public entertainment in the capital and other cities. These

(113) John of Nikiu, *Chronicle*, tr. R. H. CHARLES, London, 1916, 90.87, p. 144 ; for the value of this account, see J. MASPERO, *Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie*, Paris, 1923, p. 76f.

(114) *SH*, ix.17.

(115) *Nov.* 14 (a.535), praef.

(116) *Nov.* 51 (a.537), dealing with *scenicas*, certainly seems to treat actresses as if they were prostitutes, but see DAUBE (above, n. 93) who maintains that the law drew a clear distinction between the two categories. For Theodora from the *porneion*, see the interesting discussion of VASILIEV, p. 97f., who shows that the term *porne* was widely used to designate mimes and actresses also, and that it need not be taken literally here. It seems likely that John of Ephesus was making an implied comparison with Mary Magdalene. But note also the curious tradition of 'Fredegarius', above, p. 160.

(117) See A. CAMERON, *Porphyrius the Charioteer*, Oxford, 1973, p. 158 ; cf. above, p. 160.

organizations, which attracted the loyalty and enthusiasm of the entire population, comprised the performers (charioteers, dancers, mimes and the like), the infrastructure that made their work possible, such as Theodora's father, and groups of fans from all levels of society. Each faction had members of the ruling class as patrons. At Tarsus, for example, the patron of the Blues in Justinian's time was the senator Damianus ([118]). In Constantinople, patrons were naturally of higher rank. Under Anastasius, the prefect of the city was patron of the Greens, whom the emperor favored. When Justinian, an ardent Blue, came to the throne, he seems to have patronized the faction himself ([119]).

In this connection, the last stage of Theodora's trip back to the capital may have an added significance. In Antioch, according to the SH, she met a certain Macedonia, a dancer of the Blue faction, who had gained considerable influence. She seems to have been a government spy or agent who wrote letters denouncing prominent rich men of the East to Justinian while Justin was emperor ([120]). Once denounced, their wealth would be confiscated by the emperor. This suggests another activity of stage personnel. As governments have always known, prostitutes and actresses are in an especially good position to get secrets from their friends and clients. Macedonia helped Theodora, offering her consolation for her bad luck with Hecebolus. There is no way to tell whether they were old friends or whether they met because of some connection through the Blues. It might have been natural for an ardent Blue like Theodora to seek out her fellow faction members in a strange city. It is also possible, of course, that they were in the same line of work. In any case, Macedonia is an example of a Blue dancer who had direct access to the highest levels of government. Theodora likewise could have made her important contacts through the Blues.

No source reveals how or when Theodora met the heir to the throne. The connection could have come through Macedonia, after Theodora returned to the capital ([121]). Procopius relates that Justinian fell in love with her when she returned to Constantinople and made her his mistress.

(118) *SH*, xxix.32-33 ; see *PLRE* III Damianus 1 for identification as member of the Senate in the capital.

(119) See C. ROUECHÉ, *Partisans and Performers at Aphrodisias*, London, 1993, p. 150f.

(120) *SH*, xii.28-30.

(121) The possibility was raised by DIEHL, p. 44.

This should have happened early in the reign of Justin and presumably after Theodora had had her various affairs or marriages. The only fixed point is the law about marriage of actresses, issued during the prefecture of Demosthenes, 521-522 ([122]). By that time, Justinian had evidently decided to marry her, but was not able to until the empress Euphemia died ; that date is unknown. It seems then, that the two entered their relationship around 520. Such a liaison brought its rewards : Theodora received the high dignity of patrician and gained enormous wealth, so that by the time she married, she had every appearance of respectability ([123]). In April 527, she was crowned with Justinian ; by then she was probably around 35 years old.

What was her character ?

The contrasts between the SH and the other sources seem most blatant here : how can the degraded and vicious ex-whore be reconciled with the pious monophysite empress ? The SH presents a woman absolutely devoid of morality, licentious and insatiable when young, cruel and vindictive in power. Envious, spiteful and totally self-indulgent, she inspired universal fear. Yet she was capable of helping her low-born friends, especially women, and seems to have been loyal to some of them. She was clever at repartee and even had a kind of malicious sense of humor. For the monophysites, on the other hand, her main characteristic was piety and devotion to a cause. She was deeply concerned with the poor, especially with women of unfortunate backgrounds. During the Nika revolt, she was brave but also vindictive, an impression confirmed by the cases of John the Cappadocian and Priscus. The account of the conversion of Nubia also shows that she could inspire widespread fear.

In sum, sources generally agree that Theodora's character contained elements of vindictiveness and loyalty, that she had great determination, and that she caused fear but feared no one ([124]). There is no way to judge her youthful behavior (which Procopius himself only had from hearsay),

(122) For the dates, see *PLRE* II Demosthenes 4.

(123) Ioeph, *Lives* 17.189 (patrician before marriage) ; *SH*, ix.29.

(124) There is a closely parallel case, both in reality and reputation, in Eva Peron of Argentina. See C. Foss, *Theodora and Evita : Two Women in Power*, in *Novum Millennium. Studies on Byzantine History and Culture dedicated to Paul Speck*, Aldershot, 2001, pp. 113-121.

but the evidence for her piety as empress seems very strong. Procopius neither supports nor contradicts that. For the rest, there is no reason to doubt that she was hated and feared by many, especially of the ruling class, and that their attitude, reflected in the SH, would lend the most unpleasant coloring and motivation to whatever Theodora did. She may not have been the devil of Procopius, but she was certainly strong, determined and vindictive, merciless to her enemies. However much she cared for the monophysites and for fallen women, everyone else had good reason to be afraid of her.

How powerful was she ?

All the sources make it clear that Theodora had considerable power in the empire, but for the SH, it was a power manifested in unpleasant ways and put to evil uses. She plainly ruled jointly with Justinian, receiving the oath of loyalty from officials, corresponding with foreign monarchs and interfering at the highest level. She could get her men installed as patriarchs or pope, and commanded such awe that provincial governors would follow her commands even when they contradicted the emperor's orders. Thanks to her enormous wealth, she could pursue an active domestic and foreign policy. The SH adds that she controlled all appointments to high office, exercised her power through a network of spies and enforced it in her own dungeons. She even controlled military appointment, promising high rank to her favorites or maintaining them in office. Although it had some limits, her will effected every level of church and state ([125]).

This power was enormous, but where was it based ? Some have supposed that Theodora pursued her own policies independent of the emperor, and even against his interests or will. In that case, she was co-ruler in a stronger sense, and must have had a very powerful base that enabled her to operate. Yet for Procopius, this was all a fraud : she really operated in close concert with Justinian, and they only pretended to differ. Evagrius supports this interpretation in a more guarded way. This is a central question about Theodora : did she have power of her own, or was it derived entirely from the emperor ?

The most outstanding example of Theodora seeming to pursue a policy opposed by the emperor concerns the monophysites. Justinian actively

(125) Note in this context the remarks of Cameron, *Procopius*, pp. 74-79 on Theodora exercising indirect power by working behind the scenes.

persecuted them for much of his reign, yet Theodora's patronage enabled them to survive and spread their doctrine. Did this mean that she had a secret network of her own that escaped the emperor's attention or spies ? John of Ephesus, the most sympathetic of witnesses, makes it clear that this was not the case. Justinian not only knew what his wife was doing, but even participated by visiting the monks in her palace and asking their blessing. After Theodora's death, he did not expel or arrest them — as he reasonably might if he discovered activities contrary to his own will — but went on providing them with living space, though on a less grand scale. He did nothing to stop the missionaries, whose presence in strange towns would have been quickly known to imperial agents, and even assigned a monophysite, John of Ephesus, the task of converting pagans in western Asia Minor. In other words, Justinian tolerated or even encouraged Theodora ; she was not following an independent policy at all.

Justinian faced an intractable problem : he ruled over an empire deeply divided between orthodox in Greece, Asia Minor and Palestine and monophysites in the richest and most strategic regions of Egypt, Syria and the eastern frontier. After the conquest of catholic Africa and Italy, the anti-monophysite population increased, with the Pope as its natural head. If Justinian conciliated one side, he would offend the other. Since the orthodox and catholics (not yet divided) were prominent in the capital and the newly-conquered West, he opted to favor them, a natural course since he was orthodox himself. Yet he could not afford to alienate the monophysites completely at the risk of sedition in regions of crucial importance. His solution was ingenious : allow his consort to patronize her church with minimal interference, so that its members, if not entirely placated, would at least not rise in revolt. This policy of doing the opposite of what he officially proclaimed suited an emperor in such a delicate situation, and suits the interpretation Procopius and Evagrius put on his acts.

The most notorious case of Theodora's interference concerns the Gothic queen, Amalasuntha. According to the SH, Theodora had her murdered, even though she was on friendly terms with the emperor. Amalasuntha, who was in a precarious position in her own state, had entered into negotiations with Justinian, even proposing to turn Italy over to him. He in turn offered her a palace in Dyrrachium and an eventual refuge in the capital. To all appearances, he had every interest in ensuring her safety, and the product of Theodora's jealousy could only be contrary to his own policy. Yet the evidence for Theodora's complicity in the

murder is substantial. Is this also evidence of her power to intervene in foreign affairs against the imperial will ? Probably not, for the results were eminently favorable to Justinian's ultimate policy. By ostensibly being responsible for the death of Amalasuntha, the Gothic king Theodahad became an open enemy of Justinian, and provided a useful pretext for the invasion of Italy. If the queen had not been removed, the diplomatic background for attack would have been much more complicated. Had she actually taken refuge in Constantinople the emperor could certainly have attacked to support her rights, but then might have been obliged to restore her to power, rather than adding Italy directly to the empire. If it is possible to judge by results, the removal of Amalasuntha served imperial interests.

If Theodora had acted contrary to imperial policy, the ultimate blame should have fallen not on her but on the agent, Peter the Illyrian. According to Procopius, who dealt with this matter in the Gothic War as well as the SH, Peter acted both for her and for the emperor. By having Justinian's friend killed, he might reasonably have suffered some punishment either on return to Constantinople or, if Theodora's protection were all-powerful, after her death. None of that happened : instead, he received the highest honors of patrician and honorary consul and served as Master of Offices until his death in 565. In other words, his actions were rewarded. Most probably, then, Amalasuntha's fate is another example of imperial duplicity, with the ostensible and real policies very different ([126]).

In the cases of Belisarius and John of Cappadocia, where Theodora was instrumental in weakening or destroying two of Justinian's great favorites, it is also likely that she was acting in his interests. Both men had risen to the highest powers and honors : each had assumed the consulate and accumulated great wealth, and Belisarius was enormously popular. Both, in other words, were potentially rivals to the emperor, though neither had shown anything but loyalty. Since Belisarius was suspected of hoarding treasure he had looted from Africa, it made sense to weaken his position and to recover as much money as possible, especially at a time when the empire, afflicted by unending wars, was desperately short of funds. Removing him from office when imperial policies seemed to be going badly meant removing a possible focus of opposition.

(126) Even in the more public account of the *BellGoth*, V.iv.17, Justinian sent Peter to negotiate secretly with Theodahad about ceding part of Italy while ostensibly going to discuss various outstanding (and quite different) issues.

He was, of course, restored, but never repeated his earlier successes. Later, in 562, long after Theodora had left the scene, Belisarius again fell from favor when accused of involvement in a plot. He had to dismiss his retainers, but was restored after a year. It would seem that Justinian, like other despots, did not allow his subordinates to feel too secure in their power or popularity, and that Theodora was only an agent of a consistent policy.

John of Cappadocia presents a more complicated case. Theodora apparently always hated him and helped to have him removed after the Nika revolt. But Justinian brought him back and kept him in power till 541. John then succumbed to a plot engineered by Theodora and Antonina. His apparent treason gave Justinian no alternative to dismissing him. This certainly looks like a case of Theodora's vengeance striking down a friend of the emperor, one whom he had consistently supported. Yet a closer look at the circumstances raises doubts. Justinian warned John not to attend the fatal rendezvous — in other words, he knew of the plot, and therefore could have stopped it if he wanted. Instead, he allowed John to go into exile and confiscated most of his vast fortune, though he did permit the exile to retain enough wealth to alleviate his situation. He did nothing to stop Theodora's further persecution of the fallen minister. Even after her death, when John returned to the capital, he was unable to regain any position. This seems like a case of a despot striking down an overweening minister, in such a way as to deflect blame from himself. Unlike Belisarius, John had no personal following or popularity, but his immense wealth and knowledge of the operations of government could have made him an extremely dangerous adversary. The evidence suggests that Justinian was privy to the plot and was willing to sacrifice John, who had done his job and could be succeeded by equally competent (and ruthless) ministers. If so, by allowing John to be entrapped, the emperor removed a potential threat, gained a great fortune which had probably been embezzled, and set a powerful example of what might happen to anyone who rose too high, all the while escaping any blame for disloyalty. This does not appear to be an independent adventure of Theodora.

Three other victims of Theodora also appear on closer inspection to have suffered as much from Justinian's hostility as hers. Priscus, count of the imperial guard, had also accumulated a vast fortune. When he was accused of insulting the empress, he was exiled and tonsured ; the emperor, forgetful of his old friend, did nothing beside confiscating his wealth.

Here, too, Justinian knew what was going on and allowed it to happen, presumably because he wanted to recoup the money Priscus had made. The cruel fates of Arsenius the Samaritan and Calligonus, governor of Cilicia, also blamed on Theodora in the SH, appear in corroborating sources as results of the joint vengeance of the imperial couple. Like the more famous examples, these provide no evidence of Theodora's independent power.

Theodora's friends and agents were extremely important in all her activities. If they formed the core of an independent network, they could be expected to suffer when she was no longer there to protect them. In fact, the most notorious members survived her death unscathed, and even went on to new glories. The continuing success of Peter the Illyrian, emissary to the Goths, has already been considered. The Armenian eunuch Narses was extremely valuable to Theodora on at least two occasions : he maintained the monophysite patriarch of Alexandria in power in 535-6, and, was witness to John of Cappadocia's treason five years later. At the same time, he was a confidant of Justinian, who never ceased to promote him until in 551 he became imperial commander in Italy ([127]). The SH portrays Peter Barsymes, the crooked banker who owed his rise to the empress, as surviving his loss of the praetorian prefecture in 546 thanks to Theodora's influence. But he retained the office after her death, and rose again to the prefecture in 555-562. Sergius son of Bacchus, the incompetent general who survived losing Africa thanks to Antonina's patronage, subsequently served in Italy and was even made a patrician in 559. In other words, Theodora's faction survived her, an unlikely circumstance if they had actively thwarted the emperor.

This does not mean that Theodora's death had no effect. It enabled Antonina to remove her daughter from the clutches of Theodora's grandson, and the Armenian commander Artabanes to put away the wife the empress had forced him to take back ([128]). More seriously, two of her enemies escaped from her dungeons and were restored to respectable positions. The general Buzes languished for more than two years (542-5) in dark solitary confinement till Theodora finally released him. According to Procopius, he was half blind and feeble thereafter, but he was actually restored to favor and somehow managed to command troops in Italy and Lazica in the next decade. Photius, stepson of Belisarius, who had

(127) See the overly detailed account of his life in *PLRE* III, Narses 1.
(128) Antonina : *SH*, v.23 ; Artabanes : *PLRE* III s.v.

infuriated Antonina by interfering with one of her affairs, was confined during the same years. He managed to escape, became a monk and eventually rose to become abbot of Justinian's monastery, the Nea, in Jerusalem. He, too, had been honorary consul and extremely rich. Although he kept his life, he never regained his former influence.

Whatever the circumstances behind these two cases, there seems little or no evidence that Theodora promoted any policy actively opposed by Justinian. On the contrary she appears as his useful agent and collaborator, enabling him to carry out activities that he might prefer to deny. Procopius' judgement that the two actively collaborated and only pretended to differ seems eminently justified. In other words, Theodora did not exercise independent power, but instead operated in defined realms. She seems to have had no voice in military policy, but tremendous influence in ecclesiastical matters. She played a valuable role in humbling the rich and powerful, especially any potential aspirants to higher power, while allowing Justinian to preserve the appearance of benign patronage of his friends. She may also have been an intermediary between the emperor and the humble, in the sense that she patronized charity and championed the cause of unfortunate women. She was certainly the link between Justinian and the monophysite church. In any case, her considerable power was exercised to the benefit of the emperor, enabling him to operate behind the scenes in realms where his public policy was very different.

Postscript

The memory of Theodora lived on in East and West, but in very different forms. For the monophysite Syrians of the late Middle Ages, she was a pious queen of respectable Syrian origins. Western writers, though, saw her as a malevolent and heretical force who interfered with the church. As early as the seventh century, a fabulous version reported her origin as a prostitute, a view still being spread three hundred years later ([129]).

The Byzantine image is more complex. After her death, while Justinian was still alive, Theodora was revered as his pious consort, whose soul in heaven appeals to God for him ([130]). A prayer for her repose was inscribed

(129) See above, n. 6 and 90.
(130) Paulus Silentiarius (above, n 28), pp. 58-65.

on the beams of Justinian's new monastery on Mt. Sinai ([131]). In the early eighth century, her name was considered glorious enough to be given to the barbarian wife of a second Justinian ([132]). In general, she appears as the devout wife of a great ruler, if she is mentioned at all. She was even revered with her husband as a saint ([133]). Byzantine writers never report her scandalous origins, not even after the rediscovery of the Secret History in the late tenth century ([134]). Nor is her monophysite faith mentioned, even when it would explain events ([135]). A few writers, though, are critical : the twelfth century historian Zonaras, who read Procopius, describes the reign of Justinian as a joint rule in which his wife had equal or greater power. He portrays Theodora as the active collaborator of Justinian in his greed for revenue and accompanying injustices, and as interfering in the church at the highest level, in Constantinople and Rome ([136]). Nicephorus Callistus (Xanthopoulos), who wrote a well-informed ecclesiastical history in the fourteenth century, finally states openly that she was an ardent monophysite, even though she rarely appears in his long narrative of the reign ([137]). It remained for the moderns to develop the scandals to their fullest extent, and to try to integrate them into the other facets of her complex character and glorious career.

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(131) I. Ševčenko, *The Early Period of the Sinai Monastery in the Light of its Inscriptions*, in *DOP* 20 (1966), p. 262 no. 4.

(132) Justinian II, during his exile, probably in 704, married the sister of the Khan of the Khazars and gave her this suitable name on her baptism : Theophanes, p. 373.

(133) The ninth-century historian, George the Monk, omits her altogether in his long discussion of Justinian's reign : *Georgius Monachus, Chronicon*, ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig, 1904, II, pp. 626-654. Cult as saint : see above, p. 154.

(134) The lexicon called the *Souda* mentions the Secret History and Theodora, but gives no information about her : *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, Berlin, 1928-1938, IV, p. 211.

(135) George Cedrenus, I, pp. 643-658 (twelfth century) for example, presents Theodora as a pious empress about whom he has little to say. When he discusses the installation of a monophysite patriarch in Alexandria, which was her work, he does not mention Theodora at all : (piety : p. 658 ; Alexandria : p. 655).

(136) Zonaras, XIV.6.1-10, 8.4-7.

(137) *Hist. eccl.* XVII.7 (*PG* 147, col. 236f) ; the account of Justinian extends

MARCELLINUS 'OF DALMATIA' AND THE DISSOLUTION OF THE FIFTH-CENTURY EMPIRE

The career of the man normally known as Marcellinus of Dalmatia is a case study in the political realities of the later Roman empire. He died in 468 as a patrician, at the pinnacle of a career in imperial service, despite having spent years as a free agent, independent of both eastern and western emperors. A decade previously, such a career trajectory would have been impossible. That Marcellinus could live as he did demonstrates the possibilities opened up by the extinction of the Theodosian dynasty and the subsequent assassination of the western emperor Majorian in 461. It also demonstrates the constraints on imperial power which those same events created. The real importance of Marcellinus' career has never been appreciated, however, for the simple reason that the sources for it have not been properly understood. Although there is reliable early evidence for his life, commentators have universally relied on the late testimony of Procopius' *Bellum Vandalicum* to provide a framework for Marcellinus' career. This has produced distortions, of which the most problematical has the rebellion of Marcellinus begin upon the death of Aëtius rather than that of Majorian. As we shall see, we can only appreciate the real significance of Marcellinus' career — and of Majorian's brief reign — if the sources for that career are read correctly.

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Our earliest notice of Marcellinus is in the extant fragments of Priscus when, late in 461, after the death of Majorian, the Vandal king Gaiseric raided Italy and Sicily in contravention of the treaty he had made with the dead emperor (1). We learn that, at the time of these raids, Marcellinus had

(1) Most of the fragments of Priscus are preserved in the *Excerpta de Legationibus* commissioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the tenth

already been forced to flee Sicily because the patrician Ricimer had suborned the troops he commanded there (2). The date of this episode is difficult to fix, as the fragments of Priscus are embedded in an epitome and lack the continuous narrative that might allow for chronological precision. We know that Ricimer executed Majorian on 7 August 461 (3). If Gaiseric's raids were a direct response to the emperor's death, they might be dated as early as September or October 461, the end of the year's sailing season (4). If, however, they were a response to the accession of Libius Severus in November 461, they cannot have come until the next opening of the seas, that is, in March of 462 (5). Even this range of dates does not quite fix the timing of Marcellinus' flight from Sicily, for it must remain possible that Ricimer forced him off the island before Majorian was dead : Ricimer had been preparing his coup whilst the emperor tarried in Gaul, and if those preparations included the removal of Majorian's Italian support then Marcellinus may have fled the island before August 461. We cannot tell for sure, but can safely date this earliest reference to Marcellinus to between August 461 and March 462.

Marcellinus next appears in another fragment of Priscus, in which Ricimer is described as fearing the simultaneous attacks of Gaiseric, Marcellinus and Aegidius, the last, like Marcellinus, a partisan of the late Majorian now in rebellion against Ricimer and Severus. Because of these fears, says Priscus, Ricimer asked the eastern Augustus Leo to intercede with Marcellinus and Gaiseric on his behalf. Leo responded by sending

century, ed. C. DE BOOR, *Excerpta de Legationibus iussu Emp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti Confecta*, Berlin, 1903. The fragments of Priscus are edited as such by C. MÜLLER, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, 5 vols., Berlin, 1841-84, vol. 4, pp. 69-110 and are collected in R.C. BLOCKLEY, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire : Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus*, 2 vols., Leeds, 1981-83, vol. 2, pp. 222-400.

(2) PRISCUS frag. 29 (Müller) = 38,1 (Blockley).

(3) *Fast. Vind. Pr.* 588 (ed. TH. MOMMSEN, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi*, vol. 9, p. 305).

(4) On ancient sea travel see L. CASSON, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, Princeton, 1971, pp. 270-72, with E. DE SAINT-DENIS, *Mare clausum*, *Revue des Études Latines*, 25 (1947), pp. 196-214 ; J. ROUGÉ, *La navigation hivernale sous l'Empire romain*, *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 54 (1952), pp. 316-25 ; and R. DUNCAN-JONES, *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy*, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 7-29.

(5) Proclamation of Severus : *Fast. Vind. Pr.* 588 (*MGH*, *Auct. Ant.*, vol. 9, p. 305).

one Phylarchus as ambassador to both Marcellinus and the Vandal king. Marcellinus allowed himself to be persuaded, but Gaiseric proved less amenable, despite having recently entered into a treaty with the eastern court (6). This fragment must refer to the period between very late 462 and August 465. The latter date is easily established since at the time of the fragment's action both Aegidius and Severus are still alive : Severus died in August 465, Aegidius either in that year or 464, hence the *terminus ante quem* (7). The earlier date is rather more difficult, but can be established by the sequence of the Priscan fragments. Phylarchus was sent to Marcellinus after Leo and Gaiseric had come to terms with one another in a treaty which had been solemnized by the return of the imperial hostages Eudoxia and Placidia to Constantinople (8). They cannot have travelled from Carthage to the imperial capital before March 462, that is, before the start of that year's sailing season. If one posits an unusual celerity in the ambassadors, it is just about possible to imagine Ricimer's request for aid, Leo's response, and Phylarchus' mission taking place in the course of 462, in the period after Gaiseric had solemnized his treaty with Leo. It is, however, altogether more plausible to ascribe Ricimer's entreaty and Phylarchus' embassy to the period between summer 462 and spring 463 (9). Nevertheless, the fragment can only be dated with certainty to between late 462 and August 465.

(6) PRISCUS, frag. 30 (Müller) = 39,1 (Blockley).

(7) *Pace* O. SEECK, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste*, Stuttgart, 1919, p. 412, who dates the death of Severus to 14 Nov. 465, the evidence of *Fast. Vind. Pr.* 595 (*MGH, Auct. Ant.*, vol. 9, p. 305) for 15 August should be preferred to the transmitted date of *Nov. Sev.* 2, 25 Sept. 465. The death of Aegidius is difficult to date, and must be guessed at on the basis of Hydatius 224, whom I cite throughout according to the numeration of R.W. BURGESS, *The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana*, Oxford, 1993, which supersedes all previous editions through its explication of Hydatian chronology. Hydatius' internal chronology becomes problematical after 464 and it becomes difficult from that point to deduce absolute dates with any real certainty : BURGESS, pp. 27-46.

(8) PRISCUS, frag. 29 (Müller) = 38,1 (Blockley), i.e., the same fragment which records Marcellinus' flight from Sicily and the Vandal raids on the island.

(9) This would be consonant with a part of the same Priscan fragment (frag. 30 [Müller] = 39,1 [Blockley]) which records a border dispute between Aegidius and the Goths, said to have been the only thing preventing Aegidius from attacking Ricimer in Italy. The Goths were probably drawn into the post-Majorianic wars late in 462, when the *comes* Agrippinus, acting on behalf of Ricimer and

At that point, the relatively informative fragments of Priscus cease and we must fall back on the jejune, though nearly contemporary, entries of Hydatius and one or two notices in later chronicles. In 464 or 465, Marcellinus won a victory against the Vândals in Sicily ([10]). In 467, he was one of the *comites* who went west with Anthemius for his imperial proclamation at Rome on 12 April ([11]). By 468 he was a patrician, and it was in that year that he met his end, murdered in Sicily ([12]). From the testimony of Priscus and the chroniclers, one gets a fairly strong impression of Marcellinus and his life : a partisan of Majorian, he fled the enmity of Ricimer into a life of independence. He was open to the blandishments of eastern diplomacy but remained a free agent until the eastern court saw fit to offer him a very distinguished rank to take part in the complex game of double-bluff which relations with Ricimer and Gaiseric required. This relatively straightforward account, however, is complicated by the testimony of Procopius, which has been thought to provide Marcellinus with an interesting career before the death of Majorian.

Procopius introduces Marcellinus in *Bellum Vandalicum* 1.6.5-9 (*Bell.* 3.6.5-9), which tells us that Marcellinus had known Aëtius and that, after he had been killed, Marcellinus rebelled against the emperor and ruled

Severus, ceded Narbonne to Theoderic in order to secure his aid against Aegidius (HYD. 212). On ther other hand, we have no securely dateable record of Gothic conflict with Aegidius until 463, when Theoderic's brother Frederic lost a battle to the Roman general and his Frankish supporters (HYD. 214).

(10) HYD. 223. We cannot determine the precise year of this raid because our evidence comes from the point in his chronicle at which Hydatius' careful chronological framework begins to disintegrate and his imperial regnal years no longer correspond neatly to single calendar years (BURGESS, 27-46). *Pace PLRE* vol. 2, p. 709, we can be fairly certain that Hydatius is referring to a genuine event of the mid-460s, rather than an earlier campaign of Marcellinus under Majorian or a later one under Anthemius. Hydatius had a very high opinion of Majorian and took a keen interest in those who opposed Ricimer after Majorian's murder. Marcellinus, like Aegidius, falls into that latter category, while the constant embassies between Toulouse and Gallaecia gave Hydatius reasonably good access to news from Italy in this period.

(11) HYD. 230.

(12) Patrician : MARCELLINUS COMES, s.a. 468 (ed., TH. MOMMSEN, *MGH, Auct. Ant.*, vol. 11, p. 90) ; Jordanes, *Getica* 239 (ed. TH. MOMMSEN, *MGH, Auct. Ant.*, vol. 5). On his murder, *Fast. Vind. Pr.* 601 (*MGH, Auct. Ant.*, vol. 9, p. 305) ; *Paschale Campanum* 601 (Ibid.) ; Cassiodorus, *Chronica* 1285 (ed., TH. MOMMSEN, *MGH, Auct. Ant.*, vol. 11, p. 158) and MARC. COM., s.a. 468 (*MGH, Auct. Ant.*, vol. 11, p. 90).

Dalmatia independently until emperor Leo convinced him to join Anthemius' expedition to the west ([13]). This information is not part of Procopius' continuous narrative, but rather embedded in a digression which describes the disastrous Vandal expedition of Leo's general Basiliscus the better to glorify Justinian's triumphant Vandal war of 533. The starting point for the chronology of the digression is 468 and the preparations for the expedition of Basiliscus (*Bell.* 3.6.1-4). From there, Procopius works backwards to 467 and the appointment of Anthemius, who was already emperor when Basiliscus' expedition sailed (*Bell.* 3.6.5). The narrative then becomes vague. We are told that Gaiseric refused to cease plundering the empire because he was pressing the claims of his son-in-law Olybrius to the imperial throne (*Bell.* 3. 6.6) and it is at this point that Marcellinus is introduced, as Marcellianus in a typically Procopian misapprehension (*Bell.* 3.6.7). At this time, says Procopius, there was a man called Marcellianus in Dalmatia. He had been a friend of Aëtius who refused to give allegiance to the emperor after Aëtius had died. But the emperor Leo won him over and he joined in the imperial campaign against the Vandals, winning a decisive victory over them in Sardinia (*Bell.* 3.6.8). At the same time, one Heracleius won a major victory over the Vandals at Tripolis in Africa. And that, Procopius tells us, was what happened before the war of 468 began (*Bell.* 3.6.9).

This passage of the *Bella* is usually thought to show that Marcellinus was a subordinate of Aëtius ; that he rebelled against the government of Valentinian III and seized Dalmatia upon his general's assassination in 454 ; and that to have done this he must have commanded troops as *comes rei militaris*. This picture is sometimes buttressed by appeal to a passage of Damascius, while to accommodate the evidence of Hydatius and Priscus, Marcellinus is made to come to terms with Majorian, only to rebel again after that emperor's assassination, before eventually holding office under Leo and joining in Anthemius' western expedition of 467 as *patricius*. His success is sometimes explained by giving him a long Dalmatian pedigree ([14]). Though superficially plausible, the iteration of

(13) I cite the edition of J. HAURY, corrected by G. WIRTH, Leipzig, 1962.

(14) Summarised in *PLRE* vol. 2, pp. 708-10, this account can be found with variations in most of the standard histories, e.g. O. SEECK, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 6 (Stuttgart, 1921), SS. 346-52 ; J. B. BURY, *History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian*, London, 1923, pp. 332-37 ; E. STEIN, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, 1,

rebellion and reconciliation in this traditional reading should raise questions. As it happens, the evidence of Procopius by no means requires this interpretation and the career of Marcellinus makes more sense if we read Procopius differently.

The fundamental problem is the reliability of Procopius as a source. Apart from derivative notices in late chronicles, Procopius' narrative is the latest historical source we possess for the career of Marcellinus. The digression in which Procopius mentions Marcellinus is quite vague in chronology and narrative detail, presumably because Procopius was interested in Marcellinus, and indeed the whole Basiliscus affair, only to point the contrast with Justinian's destruction of the Vandal realm. Vagueness in itself need not imply error, but Procopius is often unreliable on fifth-century events in the west : his clearly fabulous account of Majorian's reign should be warning enough in this respect ([15]). For the passage in question, however, Procopius seems to have relied heavily on Priscus ([16]). Priscus was far closer to fifth-century events than was Procopius and the account in *Bell.* 3.6.5-9 would command great respect if the Priscan element in Procopius' narrative were easier to isolate. But it is not. Procopius knew how to imbue his historical compositions with a real artistry and he reworked his source material in a way that a compiler like Zosimus did not ([17]). We therefore have a hard time gauging Procopius' fidelity to his sources, particularly where we lack the evidence to compare his text with the originals. The language of *Bell.* 3.6.5-9 certainly differs from that of the Priscan fragments preserved in the *Excerpta*

Paris, 1959, pp. 386-88 ; A. DEMANDT, Magister Militum, *RE, Suppl.* 12 (1970), pp. 553-790 at pp. 684-6. See also J. J. WILKES, *Dalmatia*, London, 1969, pp. 420-21 ; J. M. O'FLYNN, *Generalissimos of the Western Roman Empire*, Edmonton, 1983, pp. 116-17 ; and the extremely elaborate, if unfounded, reconstruction of R. CESSI, Marcellino e l'opposizione imperiale romana sotto il governo di Maioriano, *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 75/2, (1915-1916), pp. 1475-90.

(15) PROC. *Bell.* 3.7 which finds Majorian donning a disguise, travelling to Africa and personally interviewing Gaiseric.

(16) BLOCKLEY vol. 1, pp. 113-17. It is possible, however, that Procopius, like Theophanes, got some of his apparently Priscan material via the intermediary of Eustathius of Epiphaneia : L. JEEP, *Quellenuntersuchungen zu den griechischen Kirchenhistorikern*, *Jahurbücher für classische Philologie*, Supplementband 14 (1885), pp. 53-178.

(17) On this, see AVERIL CAMERON, *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, London, 1985, pp. 33-222.

de legationibus and we are not justified in regarding the Procopian text as itself a fragment of Priscus ([18]). Thus, while we may be sure that Procopius used Priscus' account of Basiliscus and Marcellinus, we have no way of knowing what that use amounted to. As it happens, though, Procopius actually tells us only two things not found in our other extant sources : first, that Marcellinus served under Aëtius and, second, that whilst in revolt he was based in Dalmatia.

The first point is unsurprising. Given that every other significant military figure of the 460s had served with Aëtius, there is no reason to doubt that Marcellinus had done so as well. The second point helps make sense of the embassy of Phylarchus recorded in the extant fragments of Priscus — if it is true. As matters stand, none of our early evidence makes the connection between Marcellinus and Dalmatia, neither the extant fragments of Priscus nor the chroniclers. Rather, the connection appears for the first time in the sources of the sixth century : Procopius and Damascius. Now it is certainly possible that an original statement of Priscus linking Marcellinus to Dalmatia has been lost in the process of excerpting ([19]). On the other hand, the suspicion must remain that the close connection between Marcellinus and Dalmatia was a retrospective exaggeration — or even an invention — of the sixth century, based on the fact that Marcellinus' nephew Julius Nepos held the anomalous post of *magister militum Dalmatiae*. Apart from the text of Procopius, the only evidence for Marcellinus' Dalmatian power base comes from Damascius, which does nothing to heighten its plausibility ([20]). In sum, the information unique to Procopius may or may not be a valid supplement to what we already know from the older and better sources, but nothing suggests that Procopius possessed any reliable source of information on Marcellinus independent of those we already know.

More importantly, Procopius' narrative does not imply that Marcellinus rebelled against the emperor Valentinian III because of Aëtius'

(18) As is done by BLOCKLEY, 2:363-5, where PROCOPIUS, 3.6.1-2 and 5-25 are treated as PRISCUS, frag. 53,3.

(19) If STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM's short definition of Salona is correctably attributed to this point in Priscus' history, it might even be likely : STEPH. BYZ., s.v. *Salonai*, placed by BLOCKLEY, 2 : 344 as PRISCUS, frag. 39, 2.

(20) DAMASCIUS, *Vita Isidori*, fr. 155, 158, 159 (ed. C. ZINTZEN, Hildesheim, 1967) = *Philosophical History*, 69A, 69E (ed. P. ATHANASSIADI, *Damascius : The Philosophical History*, Apameia, 1999). Damascius' attempts to find admirable Hellenes wherever he could deserve little credence.

murder ; his digression is much vaguer than that. Procopius nowhere refers specifically to the emperor against whom Marcellinus rebelled ([21]). Modern scholars make the automatic connection between the death of Aëtius and Valentinian III, but we need not be confident that Procopius himself did the same, or that he had any clear understanding of such ancient history ([22]). Even if Procopius did mean to imply that Marcellinus rebelled against Valentinian, there is no need to believe him. With the exception of Procopius, none of our sources suggests a role for Marcellinus before the death of Majorian in 461 or draws a connection between Marcellinus and the death of Valentinian ([23]). Furthermore, Procopius' own narrative may in fact prove him to be no exception at all : insofar as the Procopian narrative suggests any practical awareness of the chronology of the 460s, it implies that Marcellinus was in rebellion against the emperor at the same time that Gaiseric was pressing Olybrius' claim to the imperial throne. We know that Gaiseric only began to press these claims after the death of Majorian in August 461. Given all this, we cannot accept Procopius' late testimony as the framework for our understanding of Marcellinus, or as an independent witness to his career. We must instead regard the Procopian text as a slightly garbled abbreviation of Priscus, perhaps mediated through Eustathius of Epiphaneia or some other source, which can, at best, supplement what we learn from the older evidence.

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With our new reading of the sources in place, we can turn with more confidence to the career of Marcellinus and its implications for our understanding of fifth-century history. Marcellinus had probably served under Aëtius, but nothing suggests he had held an important command while Aëtius was still alive. The example of Ricimer is instructive on this

(21) Nor, *pace* WILKES, *Dalmatia*, p. 420, does Procopius imply that Aëtius appointed Marcellinus as commander in Dalmatia.

(22) PROC., *Bell.* 3.4.29 suggests that Procopius associated the deaths of Aëtius and Valentinian with the wars against Attila rather than those against Gaiseric.

(23) Thus the very full text of JOHN OF ANTIOCH, frag. 201 (ed. C. MÜLLER, *FHG*, vol. 4, pp. 535-622, vol. 5, pp. 27-39), shows Maximus, Maximian and Majorian in contention after the death of Valentinian, without so much as mentioning Marcellinus.

point. He, too, is known to have served under Aëtius, but did not rise to prominence as a *comes rei militaris* until 456 in the reign of Avitus ([24]). In the same way, Marcellinus' first attested military command is not documented until well after Aëtius' death. In 461, at the end of Majorian's reign, he held a command in Sicily, though his title is uncertain. He commanded 'Scythians', but this tells us nothing since the word is no more than a generic term for barbarian ([25]). He is traditionally seen as *comes rei militaris*, which is likely enough though purely speculative. It is certain, however, that Marcellinus was deprived of both his office and his troops when Ricimer drove him from Sicily. He fled Sicily, probably to Dalmatia, where he commanded substantial support ([26]). Thereafter, he seemed enough of a threat for Ricimer to seek a rapprochement with Leo, with whom he had been on very bad terms since the eastern emperor's accession in 457 ([27]). Ricimer's embassy and Leo's response to it took place during 462 and/or 463. As a result of these negotiations, Leo sent Phylarchus as ambassador to both Marcellinus and Gaiseric and, while Gaiseric refused to soften his stance, Marcellinus was convinced to

(24) Ricimer and Aëtius : SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, *Carm.* 5, 266-8 (ed. A. LOYEN, *Sidoine Apollinaire : Poèmes*, Paris, 1960). It was as *comes* under Avitus that Ricimer first distinguished himself : HYD. 166-7 ; SID. AP., *Carm.* 2, 367.

(25) Marcellinus' troops are universally assumed to be Huns, but they might just as easily have been Goths or Gepids, and whether they were a regular unit or auxiliaries is still another open question.

(26) We are decidedly unjustified in using the early fifth-century evidence of the *Notitia Dignitatum* to describe the forces at Marcellinus' disposal in the 460s, as is done by F. E. WOZNIAK, *East Rome, Ravenna and Western Illyricum, 454-536 A.D.*, *Historia*, 30 (1981), pp. 351-82. Two recent and only loosely compatible approaches to the *Notitia Dignitatum* have shown that this will not do, and that even for the early fifth century the *Notitia* has precise documentary value only where it can be specifically confirmed by outside evidence. See P. BRENNAN, *The Notitia Dignitatum*, in *Les littératures techniques dans l'antiquité romaine, Entretiens Hardt*, 42, Geneva, 1995, pp. 147-78 and M. KULIKOWSKI, *The Notitia Dignitatum as a Historical Source*, *Historia*, 49 (2000), pp. 358-77.

(27) Ricimer's consulate of 459 was not acknowledged in the East (see R. BAGNALL, *et al.*, edd., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire*, Atlanta, 1987, p. 453) and Leo never recognized Ricimer's puppet emperor Severus, as is shown by the Constantinopolitan tradition preserved in MARC. COM., s.a. 461 (*MGH, Auct. Ant.*, vol. 11, p. 88) : *locum eius* [sc. Maioriani] *Severus invasit* ; ID., s.a. 464 (*Ibid.* p. 89) : *Severus qui Occidentis arripuit principatum Romae interiit* ; and JORDANES, *Get.* 236 : *Maiurianus...occiditur. cuius locum Severus invasit.*

refrain from hostilities against Ricimer ([28]). That Phylarchus suceeded in pacifying Marcellinus does not, however, imply that Marcellinus was given any official position by the eastern court, still less that he was recognized as *magister militum Dalmatiae* ([29]). To the contrary, the evidence suggests precisely the reverse : Phylarchus' mission implicitly places Marcellinus and Gaiseric in the same category, as independent powers that had to be conciliated by diplomacy.

Our next evidence for Marcellinus confirms this view. According to Hydatius, Marcellinus defeated a Vandal fleet in Sicily in 464 or 465 ([30]). There is not the slightest indication that he was acting on anyone's behalf but his own and the very fact of the raid makes it most unlikely that he held any office from the eastern court : regardless of whether Marcellinus' raid on Sicily took place in 464 or 465, Leo was bound by a treaty with Gaiseric that would have been jeopardized had one of his generals attacked the Vandals. Priscus, in fact, tells us that in precisely this period Leo refused to send Ricimer a fleet in consideration of his treaty with the Vandal king ([31]). On this evidence, it seems clear that Marcellinus undertook his Sicilian campaign on his own initiative. That, in turn, is a salutary reminder of just how complex the politics of the later fifth century could be : Marcellinus and Gaiseric were mutually enemies of Ricimer and the Italian regime of Libius Severus, but they had no use for one another despite that common ground.

So far as we know, this Sicilian campaign was the first time Marcellinus had fought against the Vandals, but its success may have prompted Leo to recruit him for Anthemius' western adventure. Leo stood to gain a great deal from the appointment of Anthemius as emperor in Italy. As son-in-law of the late Marcian, Anthemius had a better dynastic claim to

(28) PRISCUS, frag. 30 (Müller) = 39,1 (Blockley).

(29) As maintained by, e.g., BURY, *Later Roman Empire*, p. 333 ; STEIN, *Bas-Empire*, p. 381 ; DEMANDT, *Magister Militum*, pp. 684-5 ; *PLRE*, vol. 2, p. 709 ; WOZNIAK, p. 359. One should note that the title *magister militum Dalmatiae* is itself an anomalous position — there is only one certain reference to it, viz. *CJ*, 6.61.5 (a. 473, to Julius Nepos).

(30) HYD. 223.

(31) PRISCUS, frag. 30 (Müller) = 39.1 (Blockley). Similarly, PRISCUS, frag. 40 (Müller) = frag. 52 (Blockley) shows that Gaiseric did in fact regard the subsequent appointment of Anthemius as an act of war which broke the treaty formerly in effect.

the eastern throne than did Leo himself. Removing him from court was expedient and brought with it a chance to reassert eastern control over the western government ([32]). This opportunity was made doubly welcome by the fact that Ricimer had actively sought Leo's assistance in an attempt to master a western situation increasingly beyond his power to control it. Leo had never acknowledged Ricimer's consulship of 459, nor recognized his puppet emperor Severus, and the mission of Anthemius was a very public opportunity to put Ricimer in his place. How much the better, then, to add to the imperial entourage one of the patrician's long-standing enemies.

Marcellinus, after all, had been a threat to Ricimer since 461 and had recently won a victory over the Vandals, something Ricimer had been unable to do since his heroics at Agrigentum a decade earlier. From Leo's point of view, the inclusion of Marcellinus merely improved on an already perfect plan. It is harder to speculate about Marcellinus' own motives. Perhaps after half a decade as a freelance warlord the prospect of a legitimate imperial position was motivation enough. On the other hand, we shall never know precisely what office Marcellinus was given. Hydatius says that Marcellinus was one of the *comites* who accompanied Anthemius to Italy, but *comes* is a fundamentally non-technical word in Hydatian usage, and we can only be sure that Marcellinus held some sort of military command ([33]). At some point before Anthemius travelled west in spring 467, then, Marcellinus had come to terms with the eastern court. The new emperor was raised to the purple at Rome on 12 April ([34]). Some time thereafter, and certainly by 468, Marcellinus was given the title of *patricius* ([35]). This new title was a clear derogation from Ricimer's honours. Although the patriciate had long been a rank and not an office, while Ricimer held the title it came more and more to resemble an office ; already by 468 one could simply refer to 'the patrician' when one meant Ricimer. Then, after Ricimer's death, there is clear evidence that among those who struggled for it — men like Gundobad and Orestes — the title

(32) O'FLYNN, *Generalissimos*, pp. 115-16.

(33) HYD. 230. For Hydatius' use of *comes* see BURGESS' index, s.v.

(34) Full references at *PLRE*, 2 : 98 (Anthemius 3).

(35) MARC. COM., s.a. 468 (*MGH, Auct. Ant.*, vol. 11, p. 90) ; JORD., *Get.* 239. *Pace* WOZNIAK, p. 361, there is no evidence that this appointment was made by Leo rather than Anthemius.

implied an office with definable privileges and powers (36). Given all this, Marcellinus' appointment as *patricius* should be seen as a deliberate blow to Ricimer, a very public way of suggesting that his period as the sole arbiter of the west was over.

And so by 468 Marcellinus had reached the pinnacle of a Roman military career without having had to struggle through the intermediate stages. Despite more than half a decade as an independent warlord, he had re-entered the military cursus at its very peak. The great project of 468 was to be a campaign against Gaiseric that united east and west in the spirit of cooperation which Anthemius' proclamation as Augustus was meant to symbolize. The overall command was given to Basiliscus, while Marcellinus was to command the western section of the force (37). His first move was a complete success, for the Vandals were driven from Sardinia with little effort (38). Simultaneously, Heracleius had succeeded in taking Tripolis and was preparing to proceed to Carthage overland. By August, Marcellinus was in Sicily, the site of his first Vandal victory, perhaps making preparations for the African stage of the campaign. Basiliscus, however, had already been defeated by a characteristic stratagem of the Vandal king. Gaiseric, surprised by the appearance of Basiliscus' fleet at Mercurium, had begged for a five-day truce in which to prepare his surrender. Granted this, he was able to prepare fire ships which he sent against Basiliscus' fleet, destroying it utterly (39). Marcellinus, meanwhile, was prevented from bringing any aid to the African expedition : in August 468 he fell victim to an assassin, as had Aëtius and nearly all the great commanders who had served under

(36) For the late Roman patriciate see G. B. PICOTTI, *Il 'patricius' nell'ultima età imperiale e nei primi regni barbarici d'Italia*, *Archivo Storico Italiano*, ser. 7, 9 (1928), pp. 3-80 ; R. GUILLAND, *Patrices des IV^e^ et V^e^ siècles*, *EEBS*, 34 (1965), pp. 139-74 (reprinted in id., *Titres et fonctions de l'Empire byzantin* Aldershot, 1976) ; W. HEIL, *Der konstantinische Patriziat, Basler Studien zur Rechtswissenschaft*, 78 (Basel und Stuttgart, 1966). The case of Marcellinus is ignored by GUILLAND but treated in PICOTTI, pp. 55-8 ; HEIL, SS. 34-5 ; and DEMANDT, *Magister Militum*, pp. 685-6.

(37) On Basiliscus see *PLRE*, vol. 2, pp. 212-14 (Basiliscus 2). For Marcellinus' command, *Consularia Constantinopolitana* 505 (BURGESS, p. 245 = *MGH*, *Auct. Ant.*, vol. 9, p. 247).

(38) PROC., *Bell.* 3.6.8.

(39) PROC., *Bell.* 3.6.10-24.

him ([40]). Presumably Ricimer was responsible ; he had an acute taste for murder, and the *cui bono* points to him ([41]). With Leo's western project in total disarray and his old enemy dead, the generalissimo was in a very strong position to once again dictate terms in the west. His final split with Anthemius came not too long thereafter, and a full-blooded civil war between the two men soon opened the last decade of the western empire ([42]).

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Marcellinus' assassination marked the violent end to his influence in political affairs, though his nephew Julius Nepos would have the dubious distinction of being the last legitimate emperor of the west. Our reevaluation of the evidence for Marcellinus' career must change in several respects the way we view the events of the 450s and 460s. We may, for instance, once and for all eliminate him from discussion of the so-called *coniuratio Marcellana*, which, whatever it was, took place in Gaul in 457, four years before Marcellinus stepped onto the stage ([43]). More importantly, Marcellinus' career underscores the pivotal importance of Majorian's reign to fifth-century history. It suggests that, in the long term, the death of Majorian was more significant than were those of Aëtius and Valentinian for the decline of imperial power in the west. When we

(40) The date is established by *Fast. Vind. Pr.* 601 (*MGH, Auct. Ant.*, vol. 9, p. 305) and the *Paschale Campanum* 601 (Ibid.). PROC., *Bell.* 3.6.25 implies that Marcellinus was already dead by the time Basiliscus lost his fleet at Carthage, but this is the sort of chronological detail on which Procopius is rarely reliable. The murder is also noted by CASS., *Chron.* 1285 (*MGH, Auct. Ant.*, vol. 11, p. 158) and MARC. COM., s.a. 468 (*MGH, Auct. Ant.*, vol. 11, p. 90).

(41) But note that DEMANDT, *Magister Militum*, p. 685, rejects any involvement by Ricimer on the grounds that our sources are so hostile to him that we would surely know of it had he been involved.

(42) See O'FLYNN, *Generalissimos*, pp. 120-25 and ID., *A Greek on the Roman Throne : The Fate of Anthemius*, *Historia*, 40 (1991), pp. 122-28.

(43) The only source for this plot is SID. AP., *Ep.* 1.11.6 (ed. A. LOYEN, *Sidoine Apollinaire : Lettres*, Paris, 1970). The universal emendation of the MSS' *Marcellana* to *Marcelliniana* is unwarranted and the case against associating this obscure plot with our Marcellinus was made very strongly by R. W. MATHISEN, *Resistance and Reconciliation : Majorian and the Gallic Aristocracy after the Fall of Avitus*, *Francia*, 7 (1979), pp. 597-627 at pp. 598-603. If Marcellinus was not an important figure until 461, the likelihood of his involvement in the Gallic conspiracy becomes witheringly small.

realize that Marcellinus did not rebel against the emperor in 454, then the deaths of Aëtius and Valentinian III do not seem to set off a haemorrhage of imperial authority.

Valentinian's death did, of course, bring to an end a dynasty that had held power for seventy years, which meant that the automatic legitimacy conferred by blood succession became impossible. But the implications of this fact took some time to sink in. Maximus and Avitus, for reasons only partly of their own making, were unable to secure the sort of aristocratic and official consent which a fifth-century emperor needed to hold on to his throne. Majorian, by contrast, managed the task (44). By dint of painstaking effort, he kept the western empire knit together as it had been under the Theodosian emperors. Majorian achieved a broad consensus which seems fragile to us only because we know how quickly it broke down upon his death. The contemporary letters of Sidonius, by contrast, lack the *fin de siècle* poignance we are predisposed to see in Majorian's reign. It was his death that changed things definitively. Majorian had struck a balance amongst a group of men whose youth had been shaped by the career of Aëtius but who only rose to real prominence after his murder. Ricimer, Aegidius, Marcellinus are parallel figures and Majorian was one of their number. But in 461, Ricimer's coup brought these men into violent conflict.

Aegidius and Marcellinus were forced into open rebellion and *de facto* independence by Ricimer and this created a novel situation. Unlike Ricimer, both men exercised a decisive role in political affairs without conforming to the structure of imperial office-holding which was the traditional legitimation of power in the late Roman world. As importantly, neither one took the traditional step of usurpation. Though they arrayed themselves against the imperial government, Marcellinus and Aegidius did not trouble to create alternative imperial governments of their own. The political stability of the Roman world thus ceased to be determined exclusively by the attitudes of rival imperial courts to one another. Warlords acting without the cloak of legitimate office now became every bit as important. The way in which Marcellinus ended his half decade of independence is similarly telling, for it shows with what alacrity Constantinople and Ravenna adjusted to the new situation. Ricimer and

(44) The best account of Majorian's coalition-building is J. HARRIES, *Sidonius Apollinaris and the Fall of Rome*, Oxford, 1994, pp. 82-102.

Severus exploited tensions among the independent powers of Gaul to their own advantage, pitting the Goths against Aegidius and appointing a Burgundian king as *magister militum* (45). In the same way, Leo willingly co-opted the freebooter Marcellinus in 467 when it seemed expedient to do so. By that year Marcellinus had not only proved himself capable of defeating the Vandals in battle — no small feat given the history of fifth-century confrontation with Gaiseric — but his long-standing enmity with Ricimer had become a positive asset at Constantinople.

The long-term implications of these facts are more significant than their bald restatement suggests. The vicissitudes of the relationship between Ricimer and Leo meant that the existence of free agents like Marcellinus had a genuine utility to both sides. Tolerated or encouraged by the emperors, the influence of independent warlords, Roman and barbarian, gained a tincture of normality. This was heightened by the ease with which Marcellinus could be brought back into the hierarchy of imperial office. Marcellinus exercised a decisive but independent influence on political affairs, and was rewarded for so doing. Because of this, more than any other figure of the 460s, he illustrates the process by which the administrative and political system that bound the empire together edged ever closer to disintegration (46).

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(45) Aegidius and the Goths, above n. 9. Gundioc's *magisterium*, HILARUS, *Ep. Arelatenses* 19 (ed. W. Gundlach, *MGH*, *Epistulae*, vol. 3, pp. 28-9).

(46) A version of this paper was presented at the 26th Annual Byzantine Studies Conference at Harvard University in October 2000. I should like to thank Walter Goffart and Andrew Gillett for their valuable criticism of an earlier draft.

THE THEMATIZATION OF ORIENS
FINAL OBSERVATIONS

In a paper delivered in 1999 at the Eighth International Symposium of the Institute for Byzantine Studies in Athens, I returned to the problem of the Thematization of Oriens by Heraclius after a hiatus of five years. In three articles published in *Byzantion* (1) I had argued that before he withdrew from Oriens shortly after the Byzantine defeat at Yarmûk in A. D. 636, Heraclius had re-organized the defence system of Oriens along Thematic lines. In so doing, these articles gave a new lease of life to the view of those Byzantinists, of whom the late George Ostrogorsky was the protagonist, that it was Heraclius who should be credited with the rise of the Theme system, although he argued about Anatolia, not Oriens, being unaware of what was going on in that Diocese.

More recent scholarship has been in favour of the view that the rise of the Themes should be post-dated to a later period in the seventh century,

(1) For the articles of the present writer on the Thematization of Oriens, see *Heraclius and the Theme System : New Light form the Arabic*, *Byz.*, 57 (1987), pp. 391-406 ; *Heraclius and the Theme System : Further Observations*, *ibid*, 59, (1989), pp. 208-243 ; *Heraclius and the Unfinished Themes of Oriens : Some Final Observations*, *ibid* 64 (1994), pp.352-376. These three articles will be referred to henceforth as Ajnâd/Themata I. Ajnâd/Themata II, Ajnâd/Themata III. I had hoped that the third article would be the final one, but it has turned out to be the antepenultimate !

The paper delivered in Athens, "Heraclius and the Theme System Re-Visited : the Unfinished Themes of Oriens" has now appeared in print for which, see the *Acta* of the symposium, titled *The Dark Centuries of Byzantium* (7th – 9th c.), National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute for Byzantine Research, International Symposium 9 (Athens, 2001), pp. 15-40. As it is the fourth article in this series on the Themes, it will be referred to as Ajnâd/Themata IV, while this present one, the final, will be symbolized Ajnâd/Themata V.

during the reigns of Heraclius' descendants and successors (2), and that their rise did not represent a sharp break with the Byzantine military tradition. The chief proponent of this view has been John Haldon, who, as a specialist on the Middle Byzantine period, has written extensively on this and allied topics, and in 1995 squarely and in a detailed fashion he replied to the view expressed in my three articles that had appeared before that date (3). In the paper delivered at Athens I could discuss only a part of his reply, limited by the constraints of time imposed on the participants in the symposium, but promised a sequel to deal with the rest of his reply, which this article represents. It discusses intensively the two main elements in the dialogue with Haldon : (1) the Arabic sources on which Haldon had depended for his views on the boundaries of the Ajnâd, which he identified as Ducates, not Themes ; and (2) the unprecedented event in the course of the three centuries of the Sâsânid Byzantine conflict, namely, the Persian War of the reign of Heraclius, as the background for the Thematization of Oriens. As this is the final article of the present writer on this controversial problem, it includes some new elements in the discussion and also re-states a few that bear more elaboration.

Part one

-I-

The major problem that faced Haldon was the number and the boundaries of the Ajnâd, which I had argued were completely new in size and shape and, although unfinished they answered to some of the features associated with the Byzantine Themes. Haldon, a Heraclidan not a Heraclian, re-drew the map of Oriens along Ducal lines, trying to reduce

(2) The term "Heraclid", the patronymic, is convenient for designating the association of the Themes with the descendants of Heraclius, such as Constans II, his grandson, with whom some associate the rise of the Themes in Anatolia. The term Heraclian could then describe those who ascribe the rise of the Themes to Heraclius while Heraclidan could describe those who ascribe it to his descendants, the Gradualists and Continuators.

(3) For his long article on this problem, see J. HALDON, *Seventh Century Continuities : the Ajnâd and the Thematic Myth*, in *Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam*, 3[a] Workshop, *States, Resources and Armies*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1995, pp. 379-423, henceforward referred to as *Myth*.

the Ajnâd in shape, size and boundary to the Ducal jurisdictions of the old Diocese. His attempt, one that clearly entailed much hard and conscientious work, cannot be said to have been successful, since it encounters insuperable difficulties.

In the third article which appeared on this problem, (Ajnâd/Themata, III, 355-352), I went through each of the four Ajnâd/Themata and showed how they cannot possibly be reduced or re-arranged as Ducates. In *Myth*, Haldon countered in a detailed manner and amplified what he had expressed in a footnote, in light of my extensive reply, which rejected his Ducal interpretation of the Ajnâd. He said little on the two Ajnâd/Themata of Palestine and Phoenicia, and was candid enough to appreciate his own difficulties in this process of reduction when it treated the case of the Provincia Arabia, but more so in the case of two of the Ajnâd, namely, Jordan (al-Urdunn) and Emesa (Ḥims), to which he devoted many pages, *Myth*, 394-414. So it is for his views on Arabia and the two Ajnâd, Jordan, and Emesa, that his Reductionist attempt will be examined ; Haldon based his argument on military and administrative matters, which he thought obtained in "the later sixth and seventh century", involving the Ghassânid and other Arab *foederati* of Byzantium. The pages he devoted to them is pure guesswork and it is far from clear that they yielded the conclusions he wanted them to yield on the Provincia Arabia and the two Ajnâd, Jordan and Emesa. I happen not to be woefully ignorant of the history of the Ghassânids, and have drawn different conclusions related to them apropos of the Persian War and their new visibility in Oriens in the aftermath of that war (4). It is on a situation that was politically and militarily so unclear in the period before and during the Arab Conquest that Haldon has based his views.

Provincia Arabia

What has been said on the unacceptability of his views on the *Ghassânid*s and other Arab *foederati* in the late sixth century and early seventh (*Myth,* 407-408) as a background for understanding his Ducalization of Oriens is especially so, in respect of the Provincia Arabia, a land-locked province, which in the new look of Oriens was completely

(4) On this, see *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century* Vol, I, 1, pp. 634-659 ; 2, 944-948. The role of the Ghassânids during the Persian Conquest and in the aftermath will receive more detailed treatment in the third part of my trilogy.

eliminated and divided into two parts : the southern part of it was allocated to the new division called Palaestina, *Filastîn*, while the northern part was allocated to the newly created district, new in its boundaries and in its name, namely, Jordan, al-Urdunn and to Damascus (Dimashq). His views are especially unacceptable because this particular province, Arabia, was the principal Ghassânid province, the headquarters of the chief *phylarch* since the days of Arethas, on whom Justinian conferred the *Basileia* and the *Archiphylarchia* in A.D. 529, and continued to be so throughout the duration of Ghassânid Federate presence before the rise of Islam. The sudden disappearance of the province as such from the map of Oriens clearly implies a major overhaul of the Byzantine defence system in Oriens, an overhaul that included the entire Arab Ghassânid and Federate presence in the region after Byzantium re-occupied it in A.D. 629. That presence had obtained for at least a century, during which the Ghassânid *phylarchia* rendered distinguished services to Byzantium, both against the pastoralists of the Arabian Peninsula and in the Persian Wars before the rise of Islam. Such a Solomonic division of the Provincia, thus, did away with both the Ducal and Phylarchal presence in the principal Federate province. Its elimination and division does violence to the alleged Ducalization of Oriens. According to Haldon's view, Arabia's *ducatus* must have been shared by those of the neighbouring provinces, hardly consistent with what Haldon understands Ducalization to be, which in the case of the three Palestines does not seem so impossible. Thus the Ducalization of Oriens proposed by Haldon breaks down in the case of Arabia ; what is more, its very elimination suggests a different approach towards an explanation, namely its being a response to a stimulus of such dimensions as that of the Persian War, which called for a truly drastic overhaul of Oriens, identifiable as Thematization (5).

Jordan/Urdunn

In Ajnâd/Themata III (p. 355), the *Jund* of Jordan was described as "an entirely new province in name as well as in territorial extent, carved out of the former Palaestina II, the southern part of Phoenicia Maritima and

(5) The elimination of Arabia, the fulcrum of Ghassânid Federate power in Oriens, suggests further integration of the Arab Federates within the new Byzantine defence system, the Ajnâd. This is consonant with their extensive visibility in the battles of the Byzantine-Muslim conflict in Oriens.

the northern part of the *provincia* Arabia across the river Jordan. In shape, in territorial extent, and in geographical location, it was entirely new and ran from the eastern desert to the sea".

In the preceding article Ajnâd/Themata II (p. 216), I discussed in detail the rationale behind its creation, which I ascribed to three factors : its difficult mountainous terrain, its ethnic constitution, mainly Jews hostile to the Empire and rebellious, and its strategic position in which the decisive battle of Adri'ât took place, which opened to the Persian invaders the way to Jerusalem. I concluded that the creation of a Jund of such a shape, extent and boundaries out of three provinces, coming immediately after the Persian invasion, can be related only to that big event which changed the course of Byzantine and Near Eastern history, namely the Persian War of Heraclius' reign.

In his account of the Jund of Urdunn as a Ducate (*Myth*, pp. 409-414), Haldon is quite cheerfully oblivious of its Ducal irreducability, since it represented no recognised Ducal jurisdiction but one that was carved out of three Ducal ones. He, however, availed himself of only one of the three reasons I suggested for creating it, namely the strong ethnic constitution of a Jewish population that was hostile and rebellious, and he expatiated on it as the cause that lay behind its creation. In so doing he ignored the third and important reason (*Myth*, p. 413), that the region was the gateway to the Holy Land and Jerusalem where the decisive battle of Adri'ât was won by the Persians.

Control of the Jewish element in the region could not have called for such a drastic re-organisation of Oriens that created Jordan, but the fall of the Christian Holy Land to the Fire worshippers could and did. Byzantium had always successfully controlled previous Jewish restlessness and revolts and solved the problem locally, and if this one during the Persian War was exceptional, it was because of its relation to the Persian War when the Jewish population, resentful of Byzantine oppression allied itself with Persia. The formation of the Jund of Jordan was not related primarily to the Jewish problem but to the Christian, that of the fall of the Holy Land and Jerusalem ; the Jewish problem became relevant only because of its Persian profile – the support of the Jews to the Persians. That the creation of the Jund of Jordan was not related to the Jewish problem is reflected even in the name itself, a Christian name and symbol, that of the Holy River of Baptism (one of the sacraments of Christianity), which Heraclius was the first Emperor to cross when he visited Oriens in A.D. 630, (Ajnâd/Themata, pp. 223-224).

Haldon's main position, namely, that Byzantium's fear of a Jewish revolt as the cause behind the formation of the Jund of Urdunn, can best be answered by invoking the testimony of one who should know, the late Michael Avi-Yonah, who in one of his works has analyzed Jewish-Roman-Byzantine relations from the beginning until the Arab Conquests and examined all Jewish uprisings in this long period of some six centuries. He came to the conclusion that the will of the Jewish people at the end of the Persian War of the reign of Heraclius was broken. A few quotations from the English version of his work are *apropos* : (a) in the preface, he says : (a) "the book ends at the moment when that will became temporarily extinct" (b) speaking of the change of Persian policy towards the Jews during this war he says "By betraying their Jewish allies the Persians put an end to the national hopes of the Jews for centuries to come" : (c) "The deception which the Jews suffered in their alliance with the Persian marks, therefore, the real end of the political history of Judaism in Palestine" : and in the Conclusion to the book he says (d) "The stiff-necked people lived stubbornly on ; even if its political will was broken." I believe these quotations dispose of the view that the Jewish community was the cause behind the creation of the Jund of Urdunn (6).

Towards the end of his section on Jordan Haldon tries to find some support for his Ducalization of Jordan, and avails himself of the Arabic sources for references to Kharâj (land tax), mosques and mints. He concludes by noting the uncertainty and vagueness attending the Arabic sources in the Muslim period as a reflection of the vagueness and fluidity of the situation on Oriens, *Myth*, 413-414. This is a scaffolding as much contrived as it is rickety and does not contribute a useful or fruitful element to the discussion of the problem of the Ajnâd/Themata, as he himself must be aware. The main objection levelled by Haldon against the Thematic character of Jordan remains the one related to the Jewish ethnic constitution of the region, and this has been rejected when presented as the sole cause of its formation, without an association with the much more important factor of the Persian invasion.

(6) For these quotations, see M. Avi-Yonah, *The Jews of Palestine, Political History from the Bar Kokhba War to the Arab Conquest*, Oxford, 1976, pp. xvii, 269, 270, 274. In quotation (a) "temporarily" implies resurgence of "that will" in times much later than the Persian and Arab conquests, since the author speaks of the "Jewish nation from the time of Moses to the present day", p. xviii.

The Jund of Ḥimṣ/Emesa

Ḥimṣ/Emesa even more than Jordan is the Jund that bears most eloquent testimony to the Thematization of Oriens by Heraclius and explodes the myth of what has been termed in Haldon's terminology, its Ducalization.

It was the largest of the four Ajnâd as "it comprised not two or three of the former eleven provinces of Oriens but five, namely, Syria Prima, Syria Secunda, Euphratensis, Osroene and Mesopotamia. It also included the northern parts of Phoenicia Libanensis and Phoenicia Maritima", (Ajnâd/Themata, pp. 356-357). Thus, the very vastness of the Jund of Ḥimṣ speaks for its Thematic character as much as it speaks against its Ducal, since it comprised more than one Ducal jurisdiction, and consequently, together with Jordan (the smallest and most curiously shaped Jund), gives the *coup de grâce* to what Oriens – according to Haldon – witnessed after its re-occupation by Byzantium, namely, the Ducalization of its eleven provinces.

Haldon was aware of the insuperable difficulty that the Jund of Ḥimṣ presented his theory of Ducates and so his first reply to my article Ajnâd/Themata II was only a footnote (7) in which he omitted any reference to it. After my reply to this footnote, his first reaction in a long article, Ajnâd/Themata III, he gave Ḥimṣ a long treatment which took some five pages (*Myth*, 394-399), in which he tried to show that the Jund of Ḥimṣ/Emesa was not so large as I presented it, that the trans-Euphratesian provinces of Osroene and Mesopotamia did not belong to it, nor did the Jund of Charlcis/Qinnasrîn, the two being two separate *Junds*. The Jund of Qinnasrîn was especially attractive to Haldon since he could point out that this was indeed the jurisdiction of the old *Dux Syriae et Euphratensis* and so the *Jund* being a Ducate could support his general conclusion that all the Ajnâd were indeed such. In support of this view, Haldon argued that the Arabic sources present a picture of the Ajnâd different from the one I presented. In his own words "Balâdhurî and the other traditions clearly take Qinnasrîn (Khalkis) and its capital Antioch, as separate provinces under the Roman administration ; while there is no solid evidence that the provinces of Osroene and Mesopotamia, known to the

(7) See J. HALDON, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, Cambridge, 1990, p. 215, n. 27.

Arabs as al-Jazîra, formed a part of this Jund from the beginning" (*Myth*, p. 395). He also refers to Arab rulers such as Mu'âwiya, Yazîd and Hârûn al-Rashîd who have created this or that Jund or district within Oriens.

The *locus classicus* in the Arabic sources for the Jund of Hims, indeed, for the problem of the Ajnâd and the Arab Conquest, is Balâḏurî, recognized as such by al-Mas'ûdi, the *imam* of the Arab historians according to Ibn-Khaldûn. As he is also cited by Haldon for this rejection of the Thematization of Oriens, Balâḏurî will be the main port of call for examining the validity of Haldon's views. As will be seen from the intensive analysis of the crucial passage in Balâḏurî, Haldon's erroneous view on Hims is derivative from an inaccurate and misleading translation of Balâḏurî by Hitti. In a footnote ([8]) he invoked Caetani who also misread a statement in the crucial passage in Balâḏurî and so the latter contributed to more confusion. Haldon inherited his views on Hims from both, on whom he based his argument ! So he has been the victim of all this confusion.

The crucial passage in Balâḏurî's Futûḥ *al-Buldân* reads as follows in Hitti's translation on which Haldon depended :

"there is disagreement regarding the name "Jund" [as applied to the military districts of Syria]. According to some, Palestine was called "Jund" by the Moslems because it was a collection of many provinces, and so was each of Damascus, Jordan, Ḥimṣ and Ḳinnasrîn. According to others, each district which had an army that received its monthly allowance in it was called "Jund". Thus Mesopotamia belonged to Ḳinnasrîn but 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwân made it a separate "Jund", that is, made its army take its allowance from its Kharâj. 'Abd-al-Malik was asked to do so by Muḥammad ibn-Marwân. Down to the time of Yazîd ibn-Mu'âwiyah, Ḳinnasrîn and its districts were included in the province of Ḥimṣ ; but Yazîd constituted Ḳinnasrîn, Antioch, Manbij and their districts as one "Jund". When ar-Rashîd Hârûn ibn-al-Mahdi was made caliph, he set Ḳinnasrîn apart and made of it and its districts one "Jund". He also separated Manbij, Dulûk, Ra'bân, Kûrus, Antioch and Tizin and called them "al-'Awâsim" because these were the cities to which the Moslems resorted after making an invasion and leaving the frontier cities, and where they were safe and protected. The chief city of "al-'Awâsim" he made Manbij

(8) See below, p. 14.

[Hierapolis]. In this city 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Ṣâliḥ ibn-'Ali lived in the year 173 and erected many buildings" (9).

The passage is divisible into two parts : in the first part, Hitti discusses the terminological problem posed by "Jund", which when Balâḏurî wrote had become obscure and had puzzled all Medieval Arab authors who tried to etymologize it in vain. It was only in the eighties when I argued for the Thematization of Oriens that the secret of its true etymology was unlocked as a translation of Latin *Exercitus*, Gr. *Thema*. John Haldon refers to an alternative etymology suggested by C. P. Haase (*Myth*, p. 414), in a doctoral dissertation written in 1972, which I have examined and rejected (Ajnâd-Themata II, p. 239). The author would or might have not advanced it if he had been aware of its being a translation of *Thema* or *Exercitus*, suggested some fifteen years after this dissertation was presented. So much for the term *Jund*.

The second part of the passage in Balâḏurî is the more important one in this context, and deals with the boundaries of the *Jund* of Ḥimṣ in its various stages. The passage on the Jund of Ḥimṣ leaves no doubt that it was that large circumscription comprising the five provinces including the Trans-Euphratesian ones, and, so, tripartite in structure : Ḥimṣ, Qinnasrîn, and Jazîra. And the very passage is noteworthy for specificities that are lacking in the other sources, and these enhance the reliability of Balâḏurî. These specifications are not textual ; they do not involve a reading that might be corrupt. Such is the statement that it was the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik that separated Mesopotamia from the Jund of Emesa and even a reference to the historical personage who recommended it. The passage reveals the various stages during which the large *Jund* of Hims was divided into smaller parts, and what is more, it indicates the rulers who were involved in this process of division. Thus, the precious passage in Balâḏurî presents a history of the Jund of Hims hence it deserves and repays careful analysis :

1- As Haldon has denied the reality of the extensive area that the *Jund* of Ḥimṣ occupied in its tripartite structure of Ḥimṣ, Qinnasrîn, and Jazîra, it is well that the relevant statement in Balâḏurî confirming this extent be pointed out first. A new literal translation follows :

(9) P. Hitti, *The Origins of the Islamic State : Kitab* Futûḥ *al-Buldân*, London, 1916, pp. 202-203.

"And the Muslims called *Filastîn* (Palestine) a Jund, because it comprised many *kuwar*, and likewise they called Dimashq (Damascus) a *Jund*, and likewise al-Urdunn (Jordan), and likewise Ḥimṣ together with (*ma'a*) Qinnasrîn" ([10]).

a- The preposition *ma'a* (together with) was used by Balâḏurî to indicate that Qinnasrîn and Ḥimṣ has been united before they were later separated and he devotes a chapter to Qinnasrîn as a separated Jund.

b- Further on in the same passage he says that "al-Jazîra (the Trans-Euphratesian province) was with Qinnasrîn" ([11]). The reference to al-Jazîra after that to Ḥimṣ in (a) above leaves no doubt about the tripartite structure of this large *Jund*.

2- The passage in Balâḏurî quoted above in Hitti's translation, is preceded by a statement which is the last sentence in the preceding section and it reads : and "Hims and Qinnasrîn were one or united (lit. were one thing) ([12]). It, too, emphasised the unity of Qinnasrîn and Hims and the sentence seems a sort of introduction to the more detailed passage that follows, which discusses in detail the history of the large Jund of Ḥimṣ.

3- The process of division and subdivision began during the caliphate of the Sufyânid branch of the Umayyad Dynasty – that of Mu'âwiya and Yazîd. Sometimes the father is credited with it and sometimes the son, who reigned for only three years, A.D. 680-683, and the thought may have started with the father and completed by the son, even as the Dome of the Rock is said to have been started by Mu'âwiya ([13]) and finished by 'Abd al-Malik. If it was exclusively done by Yazîd, it is intelligible after

(10) See Balâḏurî, *Futûḥ-Buldân*, ed. S. MUNAJJID, Cairo, 1956, p.156, 11-13. The text is exactly identical with that used by Hitti in the old edition of Balâḏurî published in *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, Leiden, p. 132, 1-2.

(11) *Ibid*, line 14 in the new edition by Munajjid ; lines 3-4 in the old.

(12) *Ibid.*, p. 156, 10 in the edition of Munajjid, ; p. 131, 21 in the old edition.

(13) For this, see Ṭabarî, *Târikh*. ed. M. IBRAHIM, Cairo, 1963, Vol. IV pp. 161-162.

Ṭabarî involves Mu'âwiya in the separation of Qinnasrîn from Ḥimṣ but it is not entirely clear from his narrative that this involvement entailed the *territorial* separation that is attributed to Yazîd. Perhaps the use of the term *jannadahâ* (*ibid.* p.161, line 20) may not be technical, meaning made it a Jund, but simply "stationed soldiers", *jund*, in it, a reservation strengthened by his employment of the term *maṣṣara* in speaking of Qinnasrîn. (*ibid.* line 22)

some twenty years of warfare with Byzantium during the caliphate of Mu'âwiya, and the failure of the sieges of Constantinople when it was thought that this frontier district needed to be recognised as a separate entity for purely military reasons.

The separation of Qinnasrîn from Ḥimṣ and its creation as a separate *Jund* naturally made of it a wedge that intervened between Ḥimṣ and Jazîra across the Euphrates, which now naturally formed part of the Jund of Qinnasrîn.

Thus in the reign of Yazîd the newly created Jund comprised Qinnasrîn and Jazîra, Chalcis and the Trans-Euphratesian provinces, and this represents the first stage in the process of subdividing the large Jund of Ḥimṣ (14).

4- Further reduction in the size of the *Jund* of Ḥimṣ occurred during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik as indicated in the passage in Balâḏurî, quoted above in Hitti's translation, and it was during his reign that Jazîra was separated from Qinnasrîn.

The Muḥammad referred to in Balâḏurî's passage was the brother of the caliph, 'Abd al-Malik and was in charge of conducting many of the ṣawâ'if (the summer campaigns against the Byzantines), some of which were against Armenia, across the Euphrates. 'Abd al-Malik appointed him governor of Jazîra and he remained such till the end of Walîd's reign

(14) The separation of Qinnasrîn from Ḥimṣ has been established by H. Lammens, the most acute historian of Bilâd-al-Shâm in the Umayyad period. His specialized studies were summed up in his article, Sh'am/Sham in the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, revised by C. E. Bosworth for the New, in which he accepted Lammens' conclusions on the four Ajnâd. After affirming the quadripartite division of Oriens/Bilâd al-Shâm into for Ajnâd : Filasṭîn, Urdunn, Dimashq, and Ḥimṣ, Lammens explicitly specified Yazîd's role stating "Yazîd I later added the *Jund* of Ḳinnasrîn for the north of Syria" (EI, vol. IV p. 292) and repeated this more clearly when he wrote, that the same Yazîd "completed the administrative organization of Syria by creating the *jund* of Ḳinnasrîn" ; (*ibid.*, p. 293.)

In his conclusion on the Ajnâd, Lammens was followed by other scholars who have written on the subject after him, including those who also have seriously studied the region, such as M. Canard, N. Elisséeff, and C. E. Bosworth, all of whom declared for Yazîd rather than Mu'âwiya. The entries in the *New Encyclopaedia of Islam* with their bibliographies are convenient guides to the reader, see "Shâm, Sh'am," "Ḥimṣ," "Ḳinnasrîn," and "Djazîra," *s. vv.*

in A.D. 715 ([15]). So it was natural for military and administrative reasons to assign to Muhammad the governorship of Jazîra, a Trans-Euphratesian province and separate it from Qinnasrîn. Oriens, Bilâd al-Shâm now comprised five Ajnâd : Palestine, Jordan, Damascus, Ḥimṣ and Qinnasrîn and continued to be so constituted throughout Umayyad times ([16]).

5- A century or so later after the *translatio imperii* form Damascus to Baghdâd was effected by the Abbâsids, Hârun la-Râshid further refined the frontier marches in the North of Oriens in the Jund of Qinnasrîn and divided it into two parts, one of which continued to be called Jund Qinnasrîn while the other came to be called al-'Awâsim, with such cities as Manbij (Heirapolis), Cyrrhus and Doliche. All this was in response to new military postures and exigencies ([17]).

This then is the correct reading of the history of the circumscription of Emesa, from the period of the Conquest till Abbâsid times. It was only natural that this large Theme was in Islamic times reduced three times in response to the new military exigencies of the New Order when the two world powers were no longer Byzantium and Persia but Byzantium and Islam. The Emesa Theme had been conceived as a shield against Sâsânid Persia. Now it no longer was such ; it became a spear directed against Byzantium in Anatolia. Hence the desire, even the necessity, of re-drawing its boundaries, responsively to the new military postures of the Umayyad supremacy and the Abbasid, and the two called for two entirely different strategies after the *translatio imperii* from Damascus to Baghdâd. Oriens was thus divided into four circumscriptions by Byzantium and so it was during the Arab Conquests. Later in Umayyad times, and also Abbasid, it became five after the division of the large circumscription of Ḥimṣ, into five, namely, Palestine, Jordan, Damascus, Ḥimṣ and Qinnasrîn, while Jazîra, the Trans-Euphratesian province was, for

(15) For more on Muḥammad ibn-Marwân, see below, Appendix III.

(16) And well into Medieval times, until the tenth century, when Oriens fell to the Mamlûks, who divided it into six main districts, each of which was given a new name *mamlaka* or *niyâba*.

(17) For the *'Awâṣim*, see the article by Canard in the new *EI*, I.p. 761-762, in which he also repeats what he says in his article "Jazîra" on Yazîd's separation of Qinnasrîn as a Jund. See also the article by C. E. Bosworth, *ibid* Vol X pp. 446-447 on *Thughûr*, the forward line of forts in this frontier zone, to the rear of which were the 'Awâṣim.

cogent political and military reasons, detached from Cis-Euphratesian Oriens and allocated to the region to which it belonged, under the command of the Umayyad viceroy, Muḥammad, who also happened to be the brother of the then reigning caliph, 'Abd al-Malik.

Confirmation of the quadripartite division of Oriens is provided by that sober historian of the Conquest of Bilâd al-Shâm, Oriens, al-Azdî ([18]), who vouches for the four Ajnâd and names them : Ḥimṣ, Dimashq, al-Urdunn, and Filasṭîn ([19]). Al-Azdî, as Balâḏurî, wrote under the Abbâsids, when by that time the Ajnâd of Oriens had become five instead of four after the separation of Qinnasrîn from Ḥimṣ. So, thoughtfully, and unlike Balâḏurî, he does not forget that, and hastens to inform the reader (who is used to conceiving of Bilâd al-Shâm as divided into five circumscriptions) that during the Conquests, *iḏ ḏâka* (at that time), Qinnasrîn was part of Ḥimṣ. The adverbial phrase *iḏ ḏāka* ([20]) in Azdî's account guards against confusion and vouches for the quadripartite composition of Oriens during the Conquest, and so informs on the then affiliation of Qinnasrîn to Ḥimṣ.

The passage in Azdî is remarkable for something else other than accuracy. It is informative on the privileged position of the *Jund* of Ḥimṣ in Islamic times, a reflection of what has been said on the same privileged position it had enjoyed among the four Ajnâd in Byzantine times. Azdî says Ḥimṣ was called al-Jund al-Muqaddam ([21]), the foremost or most advanced of the four *Ajnâd,* an epithet which can be interpreted literally and metaphorically. He also gives the reason for this position, the military reason, namely that it was nearest to the Rûm, Rhomaioi, while the other *Ajnâd*, Dimashq, Urdunn, and Filasṭîn, were all behind it. This confirms what has just been said on the importance of the Jund of Ḥimṣ, reflected in the extensive area that it occupied and its long frontier with Byzantium. This was a continuation of its privileged position in Byzantine time,

(18) For a sober evaluation of al-Azdî, see L. I. CONRAD, *Al-Azdî's History of the Arab Conquests in Bilâd al-Shâm : Some Historiographical Observations* in *'Adnan Bakhit* ed. *Proceedings of the Second Symposium on the History of Bilâd a-Shâm during the Early Islamic Period up to 40 AH/AD640,* Amman, 1987, pp. 28-62. For the text of al-Azdî, see M. Al-Azdî, *Târikh Futûḥ al-Shâm*, ed. 'A 'Âmir (Cairo, 1970).

(19) *Ibid.*, p. 242.

(20) *Ibid.*, line 15.

(21) *Ibid.*, line 16

which has been argued for in the previous articles, when it was facing Sasanid Persia ; but now, after the Muslim Arab Conquest of Oriens and the elimination of Sasanid Persia, it became the most advanced post against the Empire that had created it as a shield against its secular enemy, Persia !

-II-

So much then for the Jund of Urdunn (Jordan) and of Ḥimṣ (Emesa) as Byzantine Ajnâd irreducible into Ducates. As Haldon in his argument for the Ducalization of Oriens has rested his case on mistranslated Arabic texts by Philip Hitti and Leone Caetani, it is necessary in all fairness to Haldon to examine these two authors and point out their mistakes.

-A-

The inaccuracies in Hitti's translation of the Balâḏurî passage involved two sentences in which Qinnasrîn and Ḥimṣ are mentioned, both of which must have induced Haldon to argue that Ḥimṣ and Qinnasrîn were two separate entities at the time of the Arab Conquest.

1- Hitti translated the first sentence in the passage as follows ([22]) : "According to some, Palestine was called "Jund" by the Moslems because it was a collection of many provinces, and so was each of Damascus, Jordan, Ḥimṣ, and Kinnasrîn". A literal and more correct rendition of this sentence has been given earlier in this section, in which it was pointed out that the Arabic has both Ḥimṣ and Qinnasrîn as one unit connected grammatically by the preposition *ma'a* (together with), which apparently was unnoticed by Hitti. His translation, which has "and" after Ḥimṣ and before Ḳinnasrîn clearly suggested to Haldon that these two were indeed two independent and separate *Junds*, between which was the co-ordinate conjunction "and".

2- More serious is the inaccuracy in another sentence which Hitti translated, "Thus was the question of Ḥimṣ brought to an end, and Ḥimṣ and Ḳinnasrîn became parts of one whole" ([23]). The sentence concludes the

(22) For the entire passage in Hitti's translation, see above, p. 8
(23) See above, p. 10

chapter on the conquest of the various cities in the district of Ḥimṣ and precedes the passage on the Ajnâd, which clearly suggested to Haldon that Ḥimṣ and Qinnasrîn were two separate identities and he actually quotes it (*Myth*, p. 394, n. 24). An examination of the sentence in Arabic and Hitti's error in translating is, therefore, necessary.

The crucial verb in the sentence is *fa-kânat* which should be translated *was* not *became* and the sentence should read "and Hims and Kinnasrîn were one (literally one thing). The substitution of *became* in Hitti's translation for *was* naturally suggested to Haldon that the two had been separate entities, and were united only by the Arab conquerors. How Hitti translated the verb *kânat*, the verb of being or existing ([24]) not *was* but *became*, the verb for which is *ṣâra*, is a puzzle : (a) Perhaps the fact that it was preceded by the *fa*, which he interpreted as consequential could have suggested that : (b) in his footnote on this sentence he invokes Caetani. But the latter was far from being a safe guide on this matter, and his section on this is a paraphrase of Balâḏurî's passage and not a literal translation ([25]). The fact remains that *kâna* is the verb *to be* in Arabic not *to become*, which is *ṣâra*, and this is supported by the passage that follows in Balâḏurî, clear on Qinnasrîn and Ḥimṣ's being one unit ([26]). Finally, the *fa* before *kânat* has no place at all and makes no sense since no mention of Qinnasrîn and the cities around it had been made. In view of

(24) On *kâna* as the verb of being of existence see W. WRIGHT, *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, London, 1875, Vol. II, pp. 107-110, On these three pages there is not a single instance of *kāna* as a verb of becoming.

(25) On Caetani, see below, pp. 207-210.

(26) The punctuation and the paragraphing of the original Arabic text of Balâḏurî, as it appears printed, may have contributed to the mistranslation. The punctuation in the old edition allocated the sentence (p. 131, 21) to what came before it, the chapter, Amr Hims, as does the new one by Munajjid (p. 156, 10), which allies it even more to the chapter on Amr Ḥimṣ and distances it from the following crucial passage on the *Ajnâd*, by paragraphing the latter, which the old edition does not do.

The sentence is out of context as belonging to the chapter, Amr Ḥimṣ, since Balâḏurî had not said anything about Qinnasrîn to justify any reference to it. He spoke only of the conquest of Ḥimṣ, Ḥamā, Shayzar al-Zarrâ'a, al-Qasṭal and Ma'rrat Ḥimṣ. Contextually the sentence is more appropriate as the opening sentence of the crucial passage that follows on the Ajnâd. If so, the *fa* must be a scribal error for *waw*, the continuative particle, *and*.

these considerations, the *fa* most likely was originally a *waw* and through transmission or scribal error it became a *fa*.

Influenced by Hitti's inaccurate translation of these two sentences, Haldon continued to speak of Qinnasrîn as a separate Jund because of further reference to it as such in Balâḏurî at the time of the Arab Conquest (*Myth*, p. 395 and n. 27) Balâḏurî does speak of the Jund of Qinnasrîn in a later chapter in Futûḥ *al-Buldân* but he was writing as an Abbâsid historian when Qinnasrîn was indeed by then a separate Jund, well known as such to his reader, who would by then have read the previous chapter on Ḥimṣ, where Balâḏurî had fully explained that at that time Qinnasrîn was part of Ḥimṣ and not a separate Jund. The reference to Jund Qinnasrîn is definitely an anachronistic one and has no significance whatsoever.

-B-

Both Hitti and much later after him Haldon invoked Caetani on the problem of the Ajnâd especially the one related to Qinnasrîn and Ḥimṣ, and both were misled by him.

1- While translating the sentence which he rendered "and Ḥimṣ and Ḳinnasrîn *became* parts of one whole", (the italics are mine), Hitti cited Caetani's *Annali* (III, p. 790, line 7) on the last line of the passage which reads in Italian as follows : "*Allo stesso tempo in cui vennero sistemate le faccende di Hims, furono regolate anche quelle di* Qinnasrîn *(Baladẕuri 131)*".

It is clear that Caetani thought that Qinnasrîn and Ḥimṣ were two seperate entities in spite of the fact that the following crucial passage in Balâḏurî makes crystal clear that they were not but were one. Strangely enough Caetani cited in his footnote to this translation the last passage in the following chapter in Balâḏurî on the battle of Yarmûk in which the caliph 'Umar accedes to the request of al-Simṭ al-Kindî for the transfer of his son Shuraḥbîl from Kûfa to join his father in Ḥimṣ. This passage says nothing on the separateness of Ḥimṣ from Qinnasrîn and so is irrelevant to Caetani's conclusion that they were separate. Caetani may have been misled by a reference to the "Jund of Qinnasrîn and Antioch" in the preceding sentence, which suprisingly he does not cite in that note on al-Simṭ and Shuraḥbîl. But in the sentence, Balâḏurî was speaking as an Abbâsid historian at a time when Qinnasrîn was indeed a *Jund* and so the

reference to *Jund* must be judged anachronistic, in much the same way that the chapter devoted to the conquest of Qinnasrîn and its district is anachronistically titled conquest of Qinnasrîn and 'Awâṣim" ! The addition of 'Awâṣim' makes the anachronism crystal clear.

2- That Caetani was a little confused about the Ajnâd and their history is fully reflected in his Italian version which tends to become a paraphrase of the crucial passage in Balâḏurî on the Ajnâd, *Annali* (III 803-804).

Although Balâḏurî is perfectly clear on the separation by the caliph 'Abd al-Malik of Jazîra from Qinnasrîn, and that the one who requested that from him was his own brother Muḥammad, Caetani presents the request as coming from Marwân ibn al-Ḥakam ! In his own words he says : "*ciò avvenne per desiderio di Marwân b. al-Hakam, che pregò il figlio Abd al-Malik di farlo (prima di morire* ?)" ! ! ! Marwân, the founder of the Marwânid branch of the Umayyad dynasty was the father of 'Abd al-Malik and after a reign of a few months he died and 'Abd al-Malik succeeded him as caliph in A.D. 685. This is an incomprehensible blunder, coming as it did from a distinguished scholar. In addition to the mistake in identifying the agent who made the request, the blunder obscures the reasons for the separation of the Jazîra from Qinnasrîn, which related to important military and administrative exigencies, already referred to in this article and it leaves the request unmotivated and anybody's guess ([27]).

3- Caetani was invoked by Haldon as he had been by Hitti for support to the two identities of Qinnasrîn and in Ḥimṣ and for the view that "Ḥimṣ and Qinnasrîn were placed under a single governor during the caliphate of 'Umar, i.e. they had been distinct". Haldon refers to *Annali*, IV, 29

(27) Marwân died, according to Lammens, of exhaustion, ending a life spent in negotiations and campaigns, especially in the last two years of his life, after the death of Yazîd I. His caliphate (A.D. 684-5) was of a very short duration – a few months, which he acceded to, after a bloody encounter at Marj Râhiṭ and much uncertainty about the question of succession after him. This he diverted to his two sons, 'Abd al-Malik and 'Abd-Azîz, away from two other Umayyads whom he had promised and designated at his accession. It is impossible to believe that a caliph of this description, possessed by anxieties and preoccupied with a host of important problems after a violent accession, would, as Caetani suggested, have asked a son, who had not yet become caliph, to separate Jazîra from Qinnasrîn, a mere administrative detail of no great significance at the time.

where he says "all the relevant authorities are collected"' *(Myth*, p. 394, n. 24).

As has been indicated, the crucial passage of the Ajnâd in Balâḏurî shows no trace of the two distinct identities of Qinnasrîn and Hims and so all that Caetani says on this distinctness is invalid, in addition to other mistakes that he made which have been noted. As to all the relevant authorities referred to by Haldon, there is only one passage out of four on the page he cites on Ḥimṣ/Qinnasrîn, and it is mostly anecdotal involving the caliph 'Umar. Abû-'Ubayda is referred to as the Governor of Ḥimṣ and Qinnasrîn who before he died appointed 'Iyâd ibn Ghanm as his successor. The latter had governed Jazîra before and his appointment over Ḥimṣ was confirmed by 'Umar. None of the references to Qinnasrîn, Ḥimṣ and Jazîra in the Caetani passage expresses or implies they were separate identities. Balâḏurî had settled the question of their having formed one large *Jund* of Ḥimṣ in the crucial passage. The vast *Jund* of Ḥimṣ had only recently (A.D. 630-634) been formed out of the many old provinces and each province had a main city or cities within it. As the Conquest progressed, the Arab commanders were advancing through what had been old provinces with their main cities, and so reference to them in the course of the Conquest was natural. The employment of a term such as *Jund* was non-technical and anachronistic, used only to refer to the region or district that was being conqured and which in the Abbâsid times of Balâḏurî had become technically a *Jund.* The vastness of the Jund of Ḥimṣ, comprising as it did Qinnasrîn and Hims as subdivisions explains how sometimes one of these subdivision seems to have had a commander placed over it during the early stages of the Conquest, but such subdivisional commands do not argue for separate identities against the integrity of the *Jund* of Ḥimṣ ([28]).

(28) Appointments by 'Umar, as the conquest progressed, of these divisions and subdivisions of districts in Oriens have been misinterpreted, as the creation by 'Umar of the administrative districts, even Ajnâd, of later times ; Haldon sometimes writes (*Myth*, p. 394, n. 24) influenced by such appointments as reflecting 'Umar's creation of the administrative units, which were actually already in existence – a Byzantine administrative effort. Muslim Medieval historians are agreed that the Ajnâd are pre-Islamic and not 'Umar's creations ; see (Ajnâd/Themata I, pp. 394-395 especially, p. 394, III, and p. 395, n. 8) To my knowledge, the only dissonant note in modern times has been A. Shboul's student, A. Walmsley, who argues that the Ajnâd are Islamic, created during the

The foregoing pages have revealed the genealogy of error in handling the Arabic texts pertaining to the *Ajnâd*, involving the Arabists/Islamisists, Leone Caetani and Philip Hitti, before the error reached our colleague, John Haldon. Much water has flowed under the bridge since Caetani and Hitti wrote, who, moreover had not made of the Ajnâd and what pertains to them a special object of research. H. Lammens and others after him have-, specialists on the Umayyads and the Ḥamdânids who read correctly the crucial passage in Balâḏurî which pays special attention to the *Jund* of Ḥimṣ and the various stages of its history ([29]).

-C-

The preceding intensive analysis of the crucial passage in Balâḏurî on the Ajnâd has established beyond doubt the quadripartite division of Oriens and so it makes superfluous the discussion of a text in Ṭabarî on the subject. But as Haldon has used it (*Myth*, p. 394n. 23) it is well that it be discussed here briefly, relatively unimportant as it is, compared with that of Balâḏurî.

The term Shâm/Sha'm is used in Arabic for Greater Syria, Oriens, from the Amanus Mountains to Sinai, excluding Anatolia. The Darb, the passes that led from Syria to Anatolia were the landmark that indicated the frontier. Sham is a Semitic term which means North as opposed to Tayman which means South. In the Ṭabarî passage, Syria/Sûriyya/Oriens is contrasted with Sha'm as the region to the North of Oriens ; and Ṭabarî, for some strange reason, used this term for the North, which can be confusing since it is normally used to mean Syria in the larger sense.

It is not entirely clear how this passage in Ṭabarî ([30]) can support Haldon's position : apparently he thought that Sha'm in the Ṭabarî text means Northern Syria and Anatolia, and since Qinnasrîn is in Northern

caliphate of 'Umar : see his *Administrative Structure and Urban Settlement in Filastîn and Urdunn* (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Sydney, Australia, 1987).

(29) When Hitti translated Balâḏurî in 1916, he had before him Caetani's detailed and monumental work which had been published some five years before, but the more specialized work on the Ajnâd, represented by the works of M. Canard, N. Elisséeff, and C.E. Bosworth, have superseded Caetani, and these might have been Haldon's guides to the thorny question of the *Ajnâd*.

(30) Ṭabarî, *Târikh*, II, p. 651, 15-20.

Syria, this would mean that it was separate from Ḥimṣ, which Tabarî had mentioned as one of the four districts or divisions of Syria. If so, this would be a mistaken interpretation of the text. Ṭabarî clearly includes Qinnasrîn within Syria/Oriens since it answers to the phrase he employs, namely, *mâ dûna al-Darb*, "in front of the Darb", to the south of *al-Darb*, as it clearly contrasts with the phrase *mā warā 'a al-Darb* (31), behind the Darb, to the north in Anatolia. So the clear implication is that *mā dūna al-Darb*, which includes Qinnasrîn, was part of Oriens and Ḥimṣ, since he considers Syria/Oriens quadripartite and enumerates its regions, Ḥimṣ, Damascus, Jordan and Palestine. If Ṭabarî had thought Qinnasrîn was separate from Ḥimṣ he would have named it, since he was familiar with its conquest by the Arabs. The passage is confused and confusing through its use of the term Sha'm in the sense of North, especially as Ṭabarî in the same chapter uses it correctly in the sense of Bilad –al-Shâm/Oriens : many times in the chapter, and twice on the same page before this passage.

*

As a Gradualist and Continuator, Haldon, has rested his case in his reply to my three articles, especially the third, Ajnâd/Themata III, on his ability to explain away the Ajnâd in Thematic terms and explain them in Ducal. The central part of his long and learned article are the twenty pages (*Myth*, pp. 394-414) which he devoted to the three units that he judged must be treated if his argument is to stand : the *provincia* Arabia, the *Jund* of Urdunn and the *Jund* of Ḥimṣ, since these are the units that presented special difficulties to his view on the Ducalization of Oriens. The foregoing pages have, therefore, examined his argument in great detail ; especially decisive was the discovery that Haldon has rested his case on these Ajnâd on inaccurate translations of the Arabic sources, which, when correctly interpreted state the opposite of what those mistranslated texts have suggested to him. Consequently, his attempt to dispose of the insuperable difficulties to his view of Ducalization, which these three units : Arabia, Urdunn, and Ḥimṣ present, has not been successful, and the case for the Thematic character of these *Ajnâd*, unfinished as they were, and argued for in the four previous articles, remains impregnable.

(31) For the two phrases, see *ibid*, line 17.

III

One of the main arguments advanced in Ajnâd/Themata, (III 360-363) for the Thematization of Oriens by Heraclius was the war with Persia during his reign, which in its novelty, audacity, intensity and scale was unprecedented in the course of the preceding three centuries. Haldon plays this down considerably and counters by saying briefly that "of course, the Persian occupation of Syria, Palestine and Syria was unprecedented, but its causes were exceptional, as Heraclius himself must have known. Under such circumstances a re-organization on a "thematic" basis would have been of no more assistance than the traditional system, especially in view of the fact that the Persian Kingdom was in no state to pose any threat to the empire in the foreseeable future" (*Myth*, p. 399).

1- The sequence of thought is not at all clear and in fact it reveals a *non sequitur* involving the "unprecedented occupation" and "its causes were exceptional". There was no guarantee that what he called "exceptional causes" would not have obtained again and that successors to the Persian King, Parvîz, would not have had other reasons for re-opening hostilities. The Persian-Byzantine conflict was a secular one, going back to the third century, which witnessed the rise of the violently nationalistic aggressive Sasanid dynasty, and the struggle with Byzantium was deeply rooted in ideological grounds, reflected in such documents as Shâpûr's letter to Constantine in which he virtually maintained that Byzantium's presence in the Pars Orientalis represented a rape of that region from its rightful masters, the Persians, who had possessed it in Achaemenid times ([32]) ; hence it was Persis Irredenta. Even more relevantly in the context of this article is the fact that this irredentist mentality survived in the Persian national consciousness well to the end of the Sasanid period. The very same Persian king Chosroes Parvîz, who started this disastrous war of Heraclius's reign, wrote in A.D. 590 to the emperor Maurice invoking his aid against the rebel Bahrâm Chôbîn. Although he did so as a suppliant, he did not hesitate to remind the emperor, however implicitly, of what Shâpûr II had stated explicitly, when he referred to the conquest of Achaemenid Persia by Alexander, whom he referred to pejoratively as "a

(32) In the fourth century, Shâpûr II in his letter to Constantine, laid claim to all Roman territories as far as the river Strymon and Macedonia ; see Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res* Gestae, XVII, 5, 5.

Macedonian stripling", who became "an immature sport of fortune" and as one who "desired to hold the sceptre of Babylon, yearned for Indian power" (33). More recently was the re-acquisition by Heraclius of towns and territory, which had been acquired by Maurice as the price for his helping the Persian King, Parvîz, recover his throne during the revolt of Bahrâm Chôbîn. So the recent war ; which Persia lost could only have aggravated, even exacerbated, Persian nationalist sensitivity, and induced in it a mood for a war of revenge when a future opportune moment presented itself.

2- Analogy with the situation of Sasanid-Roman relations in the third century is very apropos and it is the perfect one in this context. In that century, the Arab Kingdom of Palmyra under Zenobia faced Rome with a similar challenge of which the Persian offensive of Heraclius' reign was almost an exact replica. Zenobia occupied Oriens, Anatolia, and Egypt. Well, the causes of this gigantic war which proved a grave threat to Rome's security were "exceptional" but Rome did not rest on its laurels after the victory of Aurelian over Palmyra. A few years later, towards the end of the century, Diocletian addressed the problem created by the threat that Palmyra had presented, and also more recently Persia, and responded by erecting that well-known defensive system for the whole of Oriens, an entirely new system, which might be called the Limes Diocletianus (34). Heraclius was faced with a similar military threat and his response was equally new, commensurate with the scale of the war, especially after fifteen years of Persian occupation had destroyed a system that had proved its bankruptcy. This has been explained in full in a previous article, Ajnâd/Themata III, pp. 360-363.

Towards the end of the paragraph in which Haldon rejected the Thematization of Oriens, he suggested that the re-organization by Heraclius consisted in the Ducalization of the Diocese, and related this to "internal security requirements rather than external threat". In addition to its being built on a preceding *non-sequitur*, this reasoning is open to the following objections :

(33) On this see *The History of Theophylact Simocatta,* trans. by Michael and Mary WHITBY, Oxford, 1986, pp. 121, 122.

(34) On this, see the present writer in *Rome and the Arabs*, Washington, D.C. 1984, pp. 38-41, 159-161.

(a)- If the powerful other world-power, Persia, was "in no state to pose any threat to the empire in the then foreseeable future" this would have been *a fortiori* also true of communities *within* Oriens. Haldon seized upon the Jewish community in Galilea and the Golan in Palastina II, as an example to illustrate his internal security problem, but as has been already argued, Byzantium had no difficulty in dealing with threats to internal security from the Jewish or Samaritan community throughout three countries. Besides, as has been also indicated, the political will of that community had been broken after the Persian War of Heraclius' reign, and so no threat to internal security could have emanated from it. The Jewish community could pose a serious threat only in the event of an external one, such as the Persian, and it is the latter which thus alone can explain the drastic overhaul of the defence system of Oriens.

(b)- If internal security may be conceded to Haldon, only for the sake of argument - where does internal security come in the case of the Jund of Hims ? Haldon devoted five pages to it (*Myth*, 394-399), discussing only its boundaries which I have argued he misread. When he raised the question of security, he was able to apply it only to Urdunn, which he discussed in detail (*Myth*. 409-412) but not to the other three Ajnâd, whereas he should have done it, since this was the general principle he enunciated (page 399) as the explanation for the Ducalization of Oriens in its entirety, which he proceeded to discuss.

Consequently, "internal security" fails to account for the formation of the four Ajnâd, and so the re-organization of Oriens must have been a natural response to an external military threat, which Ajnâd/Themata III, has demonstrated as coming from a secular enemy, Persia, humiliated recently by the victories of Heraclius, who after winning the war, wanted to provide for the aftermath – the peace – and so to make his victory an enduring gain for Byzantium.

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The foregoing paragraphs on the Persian War and its relevance to the Thematization of Oriens illustrated the concept of Stimulus and its correlative, Response, as an important factor in Byzantine Military history. In this context and in support of the Heraclian Thematization of Oriens, the following pertinent question may be raised, and addressed to those who believe that Thematization took place later on in the century and not by Heraclius. These maintain that the Themes in Anatolia were formed as

a response to the Arab Conquests of Oriens and Egypt, losses which Byzantium suffered. In other words, the concepts of stimulus and response were applied to the Byzantine-Arab relationship – the Arab Conquest and the Byzantine Thematization of Anatolia, but surely they are also applicable also to the Persian-Byzantine conflict during the reign of Heraclius. This as has been noted, called for a drastic response in view of the gigantic scale of the war and the loss of Oriens, Eygpt, the siege of Constantinople and the Persian penetrations in Anatolia itself. It is inconsistent and unsound to argue that the Arab invasion caused the Thematization of Anatolia but that the Persian did not.

The reign of Heraclius was unique in many respects and one of them was that it witnessed both invasions, the Persian and the Arab. So the conclusion is inevitable that it also witnessed Thematization. The drama of the Arab Conquest, a *Blitzkrieg* that completely shattered one world-power and left the other badly mangled within less than a quinquennium stole the show from the drama of the Persian Conquest and eclipsed it in significance. The reasons are not hard to find. Scarcely anything is known about the Persian occupation of Oriens in the course of the fifteen years of that occupation. Furthermore, it was almost immediately followed by that of the Arab, which obliterated whatever traces it had left on that area and consigned it to oblivion with practically no sources available to the historian for reconstructing the history of Oriens in that period. Furthermore, and unlike the Persian invasion, the Arab was followed by centuries of Arab-Byzantine warfare and this, too, had drawn attention away from the Persian invasion which, dwarfed by the Arab, must have seemed even more remote in time and diminutive in significance. In short, just as the Arab Conquest wiped out traces of the Persian, it erased it from the historical consciousness of Byzantinists, and apparently from that of the Byzantines themselves. Contemporaries intentionally did not dilate in their writings upon defeats that were humiliating and so preferred to keep silent on them as George of Pisada stated ([35]). The result was that no Byzantinist had ever dealt with the short history of Byzantine Oriens, which witnessed Thematization in these few years from Nineveh to Yarmûk, while the Arabists, Vasiliev and Canard, who might have drawn attention to it, did not do so since they were involved in the much later period of Arab-Byzantine relations.

(35) George of Pisidia, *Bellum Avaricum*, I.12.

Part Two

The foregoing pages have replied to two main elements in Haldon's *Myth*, explained in the introductory portion of this article, namely, the irreducability of the Ajnâd into Ducates and the Persian War as the major stimulus that led to the Thematization of Oriens.

His long and well-researched article, however, touches on many other aspects of the Ajnâd/Themata problem. These call for a review, despite the preceding pages on the rejection of Ducalization. They are fruitful to pursue and examine since they throw light on important aspects of the Thematization of Oriens. This second Part consists therefore, of the following topical studies : (1) the influence of the Roman Occident on Heraclius ; (2) the course of the Arab/Muslim Conquest of Oriens/Bilâd al-Shâm as confirmation of the Thematization of Oriens ; (3) a trio of problems, related to the cartography of Oriens ; the Unfinished state of the Oriental Themes, and the term Jund, as applied to Jazîra ; and finally (4) some miscellaneous observations.

I. The Influence of the Roman Occident

In Ajnâd/Themata II (231-235) special attention was paid to the influence of the Roman Occident on Heraclius, who spent some ten years of his early life, ca. A.D. 600-610 as the son of the Exarch of Africa. And it has been argued that the lessons of the second Punic War, as fought by its two protagonists, Hannibal and Scipio, were not lost on the young man who lived a decade not far from the site of the battle of Zama. Attention was also drawn to the fact that the province in which he spent a decade of his life was an Exarchate, virtually if not technically a Theme, a militarized province, and that the later Thematization of Oriens was genetically related to the Exarchization of the Roman Occident, reflected in both Carthage and Ravenna.

Haldon (*Myth*, p. 421) has been silent on the first part of this Roman Occidental influence and has denied the second, on Thematization, by voicing objections to the Thematic features of the Occidental Exarchates ; but no objective student of the Roman Occident will accept these objections, inspired apparently by his anxiety over the Heraclian origin of the Oriental Themes. Ostrogorsky may be getting out of date in many aspects, but on this point he may be quoted :

"The lands in North Africa, and the territory salvaged from the Lombard invaders in the neighbourhood of Ravenna, were organized on military lines, and the entire civil administration, as well as the military, was under the authority of the Exarchs. These two Exarchates became the outposts of Byzantine power in the West. Their organization pointed the way towards the militarisation of Byzantine administration and foreshadowed Heraclius' introduction of the system of Themes" ([36]).

This section will therefore return to the influence of the Roman Occident on Heraclius, to his African experience and its relevance to his counter-offensive against Persia and the Thematization of Oriens. It will begin with a fresh new element, which, although not directly related, is nevertheless relevant to the overall picture of the Roman Occidental influence on Heraclius.

As is well known, Heraclius assumed with his father the consulate, while still in Carthage ([37]). This was the supreme civil and military magistracy in Republican Roman times. In the Later Empire it lost its function but remained an honorific title : in the West it survived until A.D. 534 ; in the East it lingered for a longer time even after A.D.537 when with the introduction of Indictions, a new system of dating was employed.

The assumption of the consulate, a reflection of the Heraclian claim to legitimation in the revolt against Phocas, was no doubt an evocation of the spirit of the old Roman Republic and, thus it was a reflection of its influence, as it was assumed in the West by a claimant to the imperial dignity who was on his way out to the East to assume that dignity, clad in the consular costumes of the Roman Occident. As such, the assumption of the consulate was unprecedented ([38]) and it was the only *explicit* influence

(36) G. Ostrogorsky. *History of the Byzantine State*, London, 1968, p. 80.

(37) The numismatic and sigillographic evidence for the consulate has been well examined by a number of scholars beginning with P. GRIERSON, *The Consular Coinage of Heraclius and the Revolt against Phocas, 608-610*, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 10 (1950), pp. 71-93 to Cécile MORRISSON, *Du consul à l'empereur : Les sceaux d'Heraclius*, *Novum Mellennium : Studies on Byzantine History and Culture Dedicated to Paul Speck*. Edd. Claudia SODE, Sarolta A. TAKÁCS, Ashgate, 2001, pp. 257-266.

(38) Walter Kaegi has argued in a forthcoming publication on Heraclius that it was unique : "previous and later usurpers in Late Antiquity and in the Early and Middle Byzantine Periods did not resort to consular claims in their striving for imperial power".

on Heraclius from the Roman past that has survived so well documented, while the truth about the other influences have been inferential. Hence its importance in this context. It is noteworthy that Scipio who, as it has been argued was his military model, or one of them, also assumed the consulate. Indeed his epitath – one of the most memorable of all Latin Roman epithaphs- is silent on his military victories but vocal on his consulate : it reads *consul, censor, aedilis, hic fuit apud vos* (39). The influence of the Roman Occident on Heraclius as a major key to understanding much about his reign as Emperor in Constantinople can be called the African experience, and may now be restated as follows :

The province of Africa was the scene of the final victory of Scipio over Hannibal at Zama and at the same time, centuries after, was the Roman province which a Roman general by the name of Heraclius the Elder governed.

-A-

Scipio was a household word among the Romans, the hero of the Hannibalic war. He was continually remembered in Roman, Greek and Byzantine authors. Africa and Carthage its capital, must have contained some memorial for Scipio that evoked the decisive Roman victory over Hannibal, in much the same way that the French, centuries after the Eighth Crusade, remembered the exploits of St Louis and erected an imposing Cathedral in Tunis in his memory.

The fact that there is no source that explicitly evidences the influence of Scipio on Heraclius is non-significant in view of the paucity of the sources on this aspect of his life but it might have reached him indirectly through three channels :

a- There was the contemporary historian Theophylact Simocatta, who. as will presently be discussed, was the one who attributed a Scipionic strategy to *Magister Militum* Philipplicus in the conduct of the war against Persia in the early years of Maurice's reign. At the commemorative funeral arranged by Heraclius himself for the Emperor Maurice, it

(39) It would be extravagant to argue that the mantle of Scipio as consul fell on the shoulders of Heraclius ; but its assumption by both is of some interest to the biographer of Heraclius. The Roman commander who inspired Heraclius was also like him a consul.

was he who was asked to deliver the eulogy. Furthermore, the Elder Heraclius is remembered in his *History* for his role in the Persian war of Maurice's reign as an officer under Philipicus. And it has been noted that the influence of the court is evident in the exaggerated role that Theophylact attributed to him. So Theophylact was quite close to Heraclius as the historian of the Emperor whose death Heraclius avenged. Consequently, he could easily have discussed with Heraclius the strategy of the war against the Persians in which his father participated, a strategy that reflected some Scipionic echoes.

b- Through Philippicus, the brother-in-law of the Emperor Maurice, his *Magister Militum per Orientum.* He campaigned against the Persians and won the battle of Solachon in A.D. 586. Theophylact Simocatta stated that Philippicus had studied Scipio's strategy against Hannibal ; "When Hannibal the Cartheginian General was ravaging the European territory of the Romans, the elder Scipio committed the war at home to deferment, attacked the Carthaginian land, and drove the enemy to serious trouble" ([40]). The quotation speaks for itself as reflecting the influence of Scipio on Philippicus ([41]). In addition to what Theophylact, a

(40) *The History of Theophylact Simocatta :* trans. Michael and Mary WHITBY, Oxford, 1986, p. 40.

(41) Michael WHITBY denied that a Scipionic strategy crossed the mind of Philippicus ; see *The Emperor Maurice and his Historian*, Oxford, 1988, p. 280, n. 6. In support of this contention in that footnote he made two observations :

a- The statement of Thoephylact on Scipio was inappropriately introduced since Philippicus "was not counter-attacking in Arzanene in order to remove a Persian army from Roman Territory." True as this may be, it remains a narrowly focused view of Scipionic strategy. Philippicus was trying to carry the war into Persian territory ; in Whitby's account of the role of Heraclius the Elder, the latter is presented as an officer of Philippikos detailed to do just that. The modest measure of success in the application should not argue against the reality of the military thinking behind it.

b- Whitby then suggests that Theophylact derived what he said about Scipio from a well-known but obscure passage in Pisides, (*Heraclius*, I-97-8) in which he thinks that Pisides compared Heraclius to Scipio. This passage, admitted by WHITBY to be obscure, has been illuminated by the present writer, in *Pistos en Christo Basileus*, *DOP*, 34-5 (1980-1), pp. 225-37, in which he has shown that the Scipio mentioned in verse 227 should be read with a small (s) meaning "sceptre", and he gave various reasons for the metonymy in which Pisides

contemporary of Heraclius and close to him in Constantinople has written, there was Philippicus himself whom Heraclius recalled to active military service shortly after his arrival in Constantinople. And the chances are that he discussed with him military strategy and how to deal with the Persians, whom he had defeated at Solachon, in A.D. 586. That Scipionic strategy was in the air then, derives confirmation from what Heraclius did in A.D. 614, after Oriens and Jerusalem had fallen to the Persians. In that year he ordered an invasion of Persian Territory and he put in command of it none other than Philippicus himself. That the invasion failed, because Philippicus was no Scipio, does not necessarily argue that thoughts of the latter had not crossed the mind of the former or that of his commander-in-chief.

c- Then there was his own father, the Elder Heraclius, who had served as one of the officers under Philippicus in the campaign against the Persians, and whom Philippicus often detailed on audacious operations for penetrating Persian territory ([42]). Surely as commander on the staff of Philippicus, he must have been aware of the military thinking of his chief in sending him to penetrate the land of the Persians. If his exploits were exaggerated after he became Exarch or after his son became Emperor, these facts do not change the reality of the penetration of Persian territory ; they only affect its degree or success. Ten years of the African experience in the shadow of his father offered Heraclius ample opportunity for hearing about his father's operations in the Eastern War under Philippicus, and the Scipionic strategy behind it ; the Heraclians were a closely knit family.

It follows from this that the Scipionic profile of his African experience has to be remembered in understanding his own conduct of the war against the Persians, although other influences cannot be entirely ruled out.

indulged. Whitby did not read the article in *DOP* carefully, and erroneously concluded that Theophylact simply borrowed this reference to Scipio from Pisides and so made Scipio figure in Philippicus' military strategy. The passage in Pisides was not Theophylact's source on Scipio.

(42) On the "Heraclius source" in *History of Theophylact*, see *ibid.*, pp. 230-233.

-B-

It is difficult to believe that if Heraclius was inspired by the distant past of some eight centuries before, he was not inspired by the immediate past in the shadow of which he lived. And it is important to spell this out in detail both because of its importance and because it has been denied.

a- The most striking feature of Africa was its Exarchal character, which, together with Ravenna, represented the new experiment in the Roman defence system, and it worked successfully both against the Berbers and the Lombards respectively.

b- Heraclius also happened to be not any Rhomaios living in Africa but was the son of the soldier who was in charge of the Exarchate, and so the influence is not only institutional but also familial. The influence of father over son is especially relevant since this Armenian family, including his brother, Gregory, and his son, Nicetas, worked together in the revolt against Phocas.

c- Heraclius lived not only a year or two in Africa. He lived throughout the Exarchate of his father, some ten years ca.600-610. He was mature and must have been pondering military matters pertaining to the new defence system of which his father was in charge.

d- Heraclius, thus, spent these formative years in the Occident under the new military defence system not in the Orient where prevailed the Diocletianic system of the old provincial administration. So he was not a prisoner of the old Limes mentality, which prevailed in the Orient for its defence from the Black to the Red Sea.

e- If Scipio inspired his strategies in the counter-offensive against Persia, Heraclius the Elder inspired his re-organization of the defence system of the empire after the war was won. Ajnâd/Themata IV has drawn attention to the many months he spent in Oriens, in A.D. 630 traversing it from the North to the South and back again, and to the importance of this year in the military thinking that went behind the re-organization of the Diocese, which was devastated by the Persian invasion and occupation of some fifteen years. And it was suggested that this was the crucial year for the decision to Thematize Oriens along the lines that had been applied and had proved successful in the Exarchate of his own father.

And it may not be altogether irrelevant to say that the Thematization of Oriens along with new military lines suggested by those of the African Exarchate was consonant with the spirit of the revolt of the Heraclii against Phocas, avenging his murder of Maurice and his usurpation of the imperial dignity. It was Maurice who is credited with the militarization of the Occident in Carthage and Ravenna along Exarchal lines.

Although this section and this article has been concerned with only one aspect of Heraclius' reign, the Theme system, yet probing into his African background and experiences proved helpful for understanding much about the reign in its entirety. The African experience of Heraclius was a most important influence on his thought and action, inspired as he was by two personalities associated with that province, Scipio Africanus and Heraclius the Elder.

II. The Course of the Arab Muslim Conquest in Oriens

Confirmation of the Thematization of Oriens by Heraclius comes from the course of the *Muslim* Conquest of Oriens ([43]).

Hardly had Heraclius had time to breath after the exhausting fifteen years of hard campaigning against the Persian, when the unexpected, the *utterly* unexpected happened. Islam did what had never been done before for centuries, even a millennium ; it united the Arabs and Arabia, and what is more, it mounted a lightning offensive against Byzantium, which in two stages and within an incredibly short time, less than a quinquennium, won smashing victories that changed the course of Byzantine history, by capturing Oriens and driving Byzantium from that Diocese in its entirety. This was an utterly incomprehensible victory by any arithmetic, and it has continued to figure as such in historiography till the present

(43) This is an entirely new element in the discussion of the Ajnâd/Themata issue and is a brief statement of what will appear as an introductory chapter in the third part of my trilogy, *Byzantium and Islam.*

Already two standard works on the Arab Conquests have appeared ; F. DONNER, *The Early Islamic Conquests,* Princeton, 1981 and W. KAEGI, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests,* Cambridge, 1992. These two works have considerably simplified my task. Mine will have different emphases and its two main themes will be "Muḥammad and Byzantium" and "Khâlid ibn-al-Walîd, the Victor of Yarmûk".

day. Historians of these fateful years have found it difficult to fully account for the Byzantine defeat and strategy against the Muslim invasion ; it is all confusion in the sources, replete with details that are difficult to relate to a military principle or general strategy. But this is derivative from the fact that what Heraclius did in Oriens was not known ; namely, the Thematization of Oriens, which holds one of the keys for understanding the secret of the Muslim victory and the Byzantine defeat. Here is how it worked and the explication of its working will shed new light on the Thematization of Oriens by Heraclius.

As the Persian advance against Oriens proceeded from the Euphrates in the north, to the south, through Antioch, Emesa, Damascus, and finally Jerusalem, Heraclius re-organized the defence of Oriens, especially of Jerusalem in the far south, in the form of four Themes that were parallel to one another and ran from the East to the West as four lines of defence against a possible prospective Persian offensive.

Three of these Themes, the first three starting from the north, served as protective shields for Jerusalem and Palestine. The most important and the largest was that of Emesa, since it was the one that faced the Persians immediately. The three could thus wear down the Persians in their advance to the South and Jerusalem. Consequently the Theme of Palestine, the farthest from Persia, was left with a relatively weak defence system, especially that portion of it *south* of Jerusalem, and this is clear from the sources and the initial course of the Muslim offensive in Oriens. This then, was the military posture of Byzantium in Oriens, a defensive system oriented towards the North, strong in the North and weak in the South.

It is within this framework that the Byzantine defeat and the Arab victory cease to be incomprehensible or at least become less so. The cluster of surprises that Byzantium was suddenly faced with go a long way towards explaining the defeat and the victory. Now only one surprise will be discussed, in strictly military terms, namely, the Thematization of Oriens with a view to its defence against an enemy advancing from the North. As is well known, and as it turned out, the prospective offensive against Oriens was not directed from Ctesiphon in the North but from Medina in the South, in Arabia and from the Arabs, not the Persians. This completely took the Byzantines by surprise, and they were completely unprepared to cope with a major military thrust emanating from Arabia and directed against the South. A brief account of how this military Thematic posture in Oriens operated to the advantage of the Muslim

invaders is necessary. It is revelatory and confirmatory of the Thematic structure of Oriens in this period ([44]).

1- In the early thirties, some three or four columns slipped into the Theme of Palestine, through what had been Palaestina Tertia before the Persian occupation. Such a penetration into Byzantine territory that resulted in the establishment of this large Muslim force or wedge within Palaestine would have been impossible in former times, when the defence system in this South, that is, in *Provincia* Arabia and in Palaestina Tertia was oriented to the south and east, that is against the threat of the pastoralists of the Arabian Peninsula. Romanus, the *dux* of Palestine early in the sixth century, alone and without the help of other *duces*, soundly trounced the combined power of the Ghassânid and the Kindite Confederation, when these attacked his frontier, before they became *foederati* of Byzantium ([45]). The only explanation, then, for this first stage of the conquest-namely that the invaders could establish themselves *within* Oriens, is just the fact already referred to, namely that the Thematic reorganization of Oriens left the Theme of Palestine relatively undefended, and open to such penetrations by the Muslim invaders because of its weak defence system.

2- The second stage of the Conquest may also be related to the Thematic posture. As early as A.D.634 the Arabs had won some remarkable victories over the Byzantine army, in Gaza, Dâthin, Ajnâdayn and Fiḥl. These victories virtually delivered almost the entire of Palestine into the hands of the Arabs, with the exception of two pockets represented by Jerusalem and Caesarea, the fall which was a matter of course a few years after these victories. Such a record of successes by the Arabs whom Byzantium had in the last three centuries tamed, controlled and often defeated is perfectly explicable by the Thematization of Oriens, which left the south, especially Palestine, poorly defended and unprepared for a major invasion from the South.

(44) The three phases of the Arab invasion of Oriens touched upon in this section are well known and the works of Donner and Kaegi will give the details and bibliographical orientation to the reader who is interested in the details.

(45) For this, see the present writer in "Ghassân and Byzantium : a new *terminus a quo*" in *Der Islam*, 33, (1958) 232 – 55, and also in *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth* Century, I, 1, pp. 3-12.

3- As the Arab armies moved to the North, Byzantine resistance stiffened, consonant with the Thematic structure of Oriens and the disposition of the troops in the northern provinces, which were to bear the brunt of the Persian invasion from the North. And as the Arab contingents were not doing so well at this stage, the caliphal order came, from Medina to the foremost general of the conquest, the future victor of Yarmûk, Khâlid, to dash with his contingent from Iraq, where he was fighting the Sasanids, and take command of all Muslim armies in Oriens which he did, and soon after won the fateful battle. This then was the decisive phase that led to the Byzantine defeat, when two Arab contingents, who were fighting simultaneously, Persia and Byzantium, were able to effect a junction, under the superior generalship of Khâlid. How did he do it ? Again the Thematic structure of Oriens helped him to do that. The sources speak of how Khâlid decided not to take the Northern Euphrates route in descending on Oriens from the North but swung to the south through a dangerous waterless route in order to avoid the well-defended North, which was the Theme of Emesa. Instead, he entered Oriens from the South. He slipped through that gateway, called Wâdî-Sirḥân, after overpowering a poorly defended outpost, at Dûma, and joined the Muslim forces in Oriens. In terms of Second World War strategies, he did what the Germans were to do when they outflanked the Maginot line of fortifications and effected their breakthrough in Flanders.

Thus the success of the Muslim campaign in Oriens in its various stages was related to the Thematic posture of Byzantium in Oriens. The Muslim armies slipped twice through the poorly defended South catching the Byzantines unawares. Consequently, the major battles of the war were fought in the South, not in the North that had been prepared for the prospective Persian offensive.

The rise of Islam and the Muslim Conquests were unforeseen events which no one could have conceived or imagined at the time. Heraclius was obsessed, and rightly so, by the Persian threat, against which he donated some twenty years of his short life on earth. It was only natural that he should have overhauled the defence system of Oriens in order to meet the threat from the North and almost completely disregarded Arabia and any threat that might emanate from it in the South. Unfortunately, it was to be his Heel of Achilles.

The Themes created by Heraclius in Oriens have been described in this and the preceding four articles as Unfinished, and it has been explained why they have been so described, namely, because the Arab invasion of

Oriens, coming so quickly after the final Byzantine victory at Nineveh, did not allow the Byzantine administration enough time to effect completely the vast drastic process of Thematization in the relatively short time.

This must have been a contributing factor to the failure of Byzantine arms to cope with the Arab invasion. The first testing of the new Thematic defence system failed, as has been argued in this section, because Byzantium fought the Arabs with a reversed front, beginning with Palestine instead of ending with it. The further fact that the Themes were unfinished and primitive could only have made matters worse and caused the Byzantine war effort to flounder and then completely founder.

This excursion into the Muslim Conquest of Oriens has shown how important awareness of the Thematization of Oriens is. It is not only a contribution to the Themes as a problem in Byzantine history, but it is important and relevant to the equally, if not even more important problem of the *enigma* of the Muslim Conquest, the Muslim victory and the Byzantine defeat.

III. Maps, Unfinished Themes and Jund

In the course of his article *Myth*, Haldon had occasion to comment on various aspects of the Ajnâd/Themata question as presented in my three previous articles, and this section attends to three of these aspects :

-Maps-

Haldon questions the boundaries of the Ajnâd as presented in my articles and maps and refers to refinements and alterations which the later Arabic sources of Islamic times reflect. As a result of this and of his views on the Ducalization of Oriens, he drew his own maps (46) for what he considered correct or more correct cartography. This calls for two observations : (a) The fundamental map for all discussion of the Ajnâd/Themata question is the one that shows Oriens divided into four large Ajnâd : Palestine, Jordan, Damascus, and Emesa (47). Haldon refers to it as *my*

(46) These maps appear in the volume in which *Myth* was published as Map II and Map III.

(47) It appears in the first article, Ajnâd/Themata I as Map III and is reproduced in the articles that followed.

map, but it is not mine ([48]). It was drawn by others long before this controversy on the relation of the Ajnâd to the Themes started in the eighties, by such authors as Le Strange and Hitti, scholars who were not involved in or even aware of the Thematic character of the Ajnâd. This is important, because in their cartography these authors had no axe to grind. ; (b) The map they drew is substantially correct *a propos* of the boundaries they drew. And it is not at all surprising, but only natural that in the course of the six centuries or so that elapsed between the seventh century and the thirteenth, when the map of Oriens was re-drawn by the Mamlûks, that there should have been changes and modifications in the boundaries of Oriens, but these were relatively insignificant. Haldon's maps were drawn by him according to his own conception of the Ajnâd/Themata question, which he believes should be changed to Ajnâd/Ducatus. This I have questioned in the course of this and the preceding articles, and I believe it would not be unfair to Haldon to say that the maps of Oriens in my articles which show the four Ajnâd are Ptolemaic while his are Procrustean.

-Unfinished-

In my identification of the Byzantine Themata of Oriens introduced by Heraclius with the Ajnâd of Umayyad times, I described the former as Unfinished or Primitive Themes. They did not seem to possess all the features associated with the fully developed Themes of later times in Anatolia, having been nipped in the bud by the Arab invasion, which even as early as A.D. 634, had made great progress in the conquest of Oriens. In his reply (*Myth* p. 422) Haldon did not accept this reasoning and said "the Byzantines did actually have a good five years in which to set up the "new" system." In answer to this objection the following may be adduced :

1- The period during which Byzantium tried to overhaul the defence system of Oriens was less than a quinquennium ([49]). Heraclius according

(48) See *Myth*, pp. 387, 388, 389.

(49) In the previous articles, I had used the term quinquennium as in Ajnâd/Themata II pp. 225-229, calculating from the year 629 when the Persians vacated Oriens. But I have refined the period during which the Thematization of Oriens took place and concluded that it was a shorter period, probably a triennium, as argued in this section.

to the best of calculations, visited the Hold Land in 630, and by 634 the Arabs had won some important battles at Gaza. Dâthin, Ajnâdayn, and Fiḥl. Palestine was practically in their hands. So the time for experimenting with Thematization may be reduced to a Triennium ([50]).

2- It has been argued in Ajnâd/Themata IV, that is was after a thorough inspection of Oriens that Heraclius matured the plan for its Thematization. When he left and reached Constantinople, a host of problems was awaiting him and they demanded his attention. The Thematization in Oriens, he left to his subordinates after only drawing up its broad lines of development. How his subordinates handled that overhaul is not known but it could not have been an easy task as will be discussed presently, and it is not inconceivable that there may have been differences of opinion on what should be done to rebuild the defences of Oriens. Futhermore the provinces did not always obey Constantinople ([51]). During the Arab Conquest, there were hard feelings between Heraclius and his own brother, Theodore ([52]), as a result of disobedience on the part of the latter concerning the conduct of military operations that culminated in the defeat of Ajnâdayn in A.D.634. So it is possible that Heraclius' subordinates were lax or oblivious in the implementation of his plan for the Thematization of Oriens.

That sober historian of the Arab Conquest of Oriens, al-Azdî, refers to the appointment of military commanders by Heraclius during the course of the Arab invasion of the region when he hurried back to Oriens from

(50) Possibly even slightly shorter by a few months, depending on when in A.D. 630 Heraclius left the north of Oriens, and exactly when the serious Arab offensive began to tell, since already in A.D. 634 practically most of Palestine was in Arab hands.

(51) This can be illustrated by one of the *Novellae* (XXIV) of Theodosius II. The Saracen allies, *foederati* of Byzantium in the Vth century, the Salîḥids, protected the Arabian sector of the *Limes Orientalis* and participated in the wars against Persia. They received in return the *annona militaris*, disbursed to them by the *duces* in Oriens. These did not always obey what Constantinople ordered in this respect and the Theodosian *Novella* orders them to do their duty and not to extort or embezzle anything from the subsistence allowance of the Saracens : for this *Novella* and its reference to the Saracen *foederati*, see the present writer in *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, Washington, D.C. 1989, p. 49.

(52) For this see W. E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 99-100.

Constantinople to supervise military operations himself. Walter Kaegi has argued persuasively, and was followed by Haldon, that these were emergency appointments in response to the unexpected Arab offensive in Oriens, which took Byzantium completely by surprise ([53]).

But these appointments possibly admit of another interpretation in the context of the Thematization of Oriens by Heraclius. They may argue that the militarization of Oriens recommended by Heraclius had not been efficiently implemented by his subordinates while the moving spirit behind it was far away in Constantinople. Thus a possible laxity in implementation may have contributed more to the Unfinished state of the Themata, to the development of which a term was set by the Arab Conquest.

3- Last but not least, is the realization that the overhauling of a system such as prevailed in Oriens for some three centuries since the days of Diocletian needed a long time to effect. Confirmation of this may be sought in the long time it took Justinian to change not the entire system but only one feature of it, namely the dismissal of the Limitanei and their replacement by another fighting force ([54]). It took the entire duration of the long reign, possibly even longer. So the span of a triennium or even a quinquennium would not have been sufficiently long for undertaking a major overhaul such as one that entailed Thematization, especially after an occupation of fifteen years or so by the Persians and the denudation of the Diocese of troops, both *stratiôtai* and *foederati*.

Consequently, the objection raised by Haldon does not hold and the three reasons presented in the preceding paragraphs can explain why the Themes remained unfinished and have been described as such.

The Term Jund

The curious term Jund applied to each of the four military circumscriptions of Oriens has been one of the decisive arguments for the Byzantine Thematic character of these Arab Ajnâd. The Term, Jund, like Greek Thema, was applied to both the circumscription and the army corps that was stationed in it and was exclusively applied in the land of the Islamic Caliphate only to these districts in Bilâd al-Shâm which had

(53) *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78.

(54) For which, see the present writer in *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*, Washington, D.C. 2001, Vol. II.i, pp. 35-51.

been Byzantine Oriens, and so the term is tell-tale evidence of its Byzantine origin.

In Ajnâd/Themata II (p. 239, n. 2) I rejected Claus Haase's explanation of the etymology of Jund as being due to the fact that these were the circumscriptions whence the Umayyad armies made their regular campaigns against Byzantine Anatolia and so the term was thus applied to both army corps and circumscription. I answered by pointing out that Iraq and Egypt had Arab military encampments in Kûfa, Baṣra and Fusṭâṭ whence the Arab armies conducted military operations in Iran and North Africa but none of these was called Jund. Haldon has now answered by saying that a ninth century tradition states that Jazîra across the Euphrates and Mawṣil were called Jund and so this was an example of a district outside Oriens that had that designation – Jund (*Myth*, p. 419).

As has been argued at length, Jazîra *did* form part of the Umayyad Jund of Ḥimṣ, being its Trans-Euphratesian portion. When Jazîra was detached from Oriens and from its association with Qinnasrîn and Ḥimṣ at the request of Muḥammad, the brother of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik, it is natural to suppose that the designation hung to it, and it was in this way that the district of Jazîra continued to be referred to as Jund. As for Mawṣil, it formed the eastern part of Jazîra. Misled by the erroneous translation of the crucial passage in Balâḏurî, Haldon assumed that Jazîra did not form part of the Jund of Ḥimṣ in Oriens and so he thought that the term Jund, applied to Jazîra, was an example of its application to a district outside Byzantine Oriens ; hence it was not a translation of Byzantine Greek Thema ([55]).

IV. Miscellaneous Observations

The Thematization of Oriens by Heraclius must necessarily shed some light on their rise and development in Anatolia, at least for those who believe in the Heraclian origin of the Themes. In the course of the first

(55) Both al-Jazîra and Mawṣil have been carefully studied by specialists in recent times, by Canard, Honigmann, and Bosworth, and the results of their research are summed up in entries in the new *EI* on al-Mawṣil and Jazîra : "Al-Mawṣil formed the province of al-Jazîra", on this see al-Mawṣil, *EI*, Vol. VI, p.899. Marwân II the last Umayyad caliph, made al-Mawṣil "the capital of the province of al-Jazîra." *ibid.* p. 900. For al-Jazîra as part of the Oriens and its Ajnâd, see M Canard *s.v.* Djazîra, *EI*2, vol. 11, p. 523.

three articles on this subject, especially Ajnâd Themata III, 369-300, some observations were made on how the Thematization of Oriens is bound to affect the discussion of the problem of the Anatolian Themes and other related problems and to what extent it is likely to shed new light on these old problems, each of which has been discussed on the basis of old data with no fresh ones to advance the discussion. The following are briefly the areas which I thought the Oriental Themes can illuminate :

1- The term Theme itself, which, as what it stands for, namely, the Theme, has been controversial. I suggested that the Thematization of Oriens will give some support to the view expressed by Franz Dölger, that it is a Greek word derived from the verb Τίθημι.

2- There was also the problem of the *stratiôtika ktêmata*, (perhaps the most important feature of the Anatolian themes) and what traces of them, if any, are discernible in the Themes of Oriens. The answer was in the negative.

3- The problem of the earliest Anatolian Themes said to be Armeniakon and Anatolikon. The first is referred to by an Arab historian while the second, because of its tell-tale name may have had some relations with Oriens.

All these problems can be related to the Thematization of Oriens, and can receive illumination from it. But they remain peripheral to my main concern, Oriens and its Thematization, and I have done no basic research on them. I only availed myself of what has been said on them by colleagues who have. Haldon has taken exception to these observations. While I am still of the conviction that they are pertinent observations in the context of the new major contribution, namely, The Thematization of Oriens, I have left them out in this article ; they are not my main concern, but hopefully others who deal with the Middle Byzantine period and who are concerned with such problems will take them up. Haldon's negative reaction to these observations was natural for one who has argued against the Thematization of Oriens ; and, so, pursuant to the gospel I preach on specialization and the inappropriateness of crossing its threshold by those whose expertise is in a different area, I distance myself completely from these problems.

4- The Theme *System* : I inadvertently used the term "system" when speaking of the rise of the Oriental Themes, on which Haldon, animadverted (*Myth*, p. 421, n. 67), presumably because the employment of the

term system implied that such features as the *stratiôtika ktêmata* were already associated with it. My employment of the term was not indicative of any belief on my part that the Themes were fully developed, and I did describe the Themes of Oriens as Unfinished. Haldon apparently thought I believed in a well-developed system of Themes, since in denying the existence of a Theme in Oriens he referred to "military recruitment, payments and provisioning, typical of the period for the later seventh into the later tenth century" (*Myth* 381). I hasten to assure him that I harbour no views on such problems, which I leave entirely for others who deal with the Anatolian Themes in the Middle Byzantine period.

5- In an entirely different category is a paragraph in *Ajnâd/Themata* I (394), on the four armies referred to in the Arabic sources and sent out by Abû-Bakr against Oriens, which I used as part of the argument for the Quadripartite division of Oriens. Reference to them in Theophanes was attractive but later reflection on the sources of Theophanes suggests that they may be derivative from Arabic sources, hence the reference to them in Theophanes may lose its value as an independent source. Since the number of these armies is attended by other problems, I leave them out of the discussion of the quadripartite division of Oriens, especially as this is firmly established without any reference to them.

6- In the final section of *Myth* (VI) Haldon made a truly gallant attempt at explaining the development of *Amṣâr* in Iraq and Egypt, but not in Bilâd-al Shâm, Oriens, resting his views on his own theory of the Ducalization of Oriens rather than its Thematization.

As I have argued for Thematization against Ducalization, the discussion of *Amṣâr* is in my view naturally flawed. Besides, it is not quite germane to Thematization and to Byzantine history but is to Arab in the Umayyad period. The word *miṣr* (plural *amṣâr*), not unlike, Jund/Ajnâd is not devoid of its own problems. I shall therefore leave it out, as it is alien to the problem which this article grapples with – Thematization.

At the conclusion of these miscellaneous observations, I should like to say how much I owe to this fruitful dialogue between me and John Haldon. The indefatigable scholar has by his opposition to the Thematization of Oriens sharpened my own perception of the problem and inspired me to discover and impart new dimensions to it. I am impressed by his ability to handle material in a difficult historical tradition, to find his way in the quicksands of alien sources and to absorb the extensive literature that has grown around them. Last but not least, I

appreciate the decent tone of his dialogue, remarkable for the lack of passion in examining views that run contrary to his own.

Conclusions

The five articles on the Unfinished Themes of Byzantine Oriens are a contribution to one of the important and controversial problems in Byzantine history, namely the origin of the Theme system. They shed an entirely new light on the old problem and they do not represent a new heresy but only revive an old orthodoxy, the Heraclian origin of the Theme System, the regnant view among the majority of Byzantinist until recent times. The old orthodoxy has suffered a partial eclipse by the researches of the Heraclidans, the Gradualists and Continuators, and its ranks have been thinned by the death of Ostrogorsky the chief protagonist, and recently by that of Nicholas Oikonomides, on whom the mantle of Ostrogorsky had fallen.

The dialogue with John Haldon, the protagonist of the Heraclidan camp on the origin of the Theme System has been a fruitful one. It has led to a sophisticated and advanced perception of the Unfinished Themes introduced into Oriens during a quadrennium possibly triennium that elapsed before the Arab Conquest of the region. For the first time a Byzantinist who deals in the Middle Period of Byzantine history in Anatolia has paid much attention to Oriens, in a period when it was still a Byzantine Diocese and before it was lost for good to Byzantium ; because of this loss it had disappeared from the consciousness of Byzantine writers and historians. John Haldon has been the first to engage in historical research involving this lost Diocese and he has delved deeply into what happened or might have happened to it in this very obscure period of its history.

Although the present writer has argued for the Thematization of Oriens while John Haldon has argued for its Ducalization, there has been a measure of agreement between the two on important aspects of the problem, which should be pointed out :

a- Both are agreed that Oriens witnessed an administrative activity after its re-occupation by the Byzantines in A.D. 629, and before the Arab Conquest, in a period that was necessarily short, a quadrennium, or possibly a triennium. That there was difference of opinion on the nature, scope and degree of this Byzantine activity in Oriens in this period was

only natural since the present writer has argued that what Oriens witnessed was a complete re-organization of its administrative and military system summed up by the word Thematization, while Haldon has argued that it was much less important, not a scrapping of the old system but a revivification of it under the umbrella of Ducalization.

b- Neither the Greek nor the Latin onomasticon of Byzantium has preserved the term that was applied to the re-organization of Oriens in this period, but the term, whatever it was, has survived in Arabic as *Ajnâd*. This was the name of the administrative and military divisions of Oriens, now Bilâd al-Shâm of Islamic times, and these divisions were, thus, a continuation of the system that had prevailed in Byzantine Oriens before the Arab Conquest. These famous Ajnâd were also the troops, the expeditionary forces that, ironically, were the ones that mounted the historic operations against Anatolia in the Umayyad period and laid the sieges of Constantinople. Both the present writer and Haldon are agreed that the Ajnâd system was inherited by the Umayyads from Byzantium and thus the Ajnâd constitute one of the most important aspects of the institutional legacy of Byzantium and its assimilation by the first Arab Islamic Dynasty – the Umayyads.

For those Byzantinists who believe in the Heraclian origin of the themes, all the five articles Ajnâd-Themata, I-V, are necessary to read and not this final one only. With the passage of time since the appearance of the first one in 1987 and with the dialogue that has been going on with the Heraclidans, fresh angles hove in sight whence new perspectives have been put on the problem. Hence the argument has become complex, distributed as it is in five different articles. It is therefore helpful to give a synopsis of the relevant elements in the articles as an aid to the reader for a better grasping of the details, many and of different orders, which appear spread in the five articles. The elements of the argument are organically linked and even genetically related within the compass of a causal sequence. As such the structure of the argument may then be presented as follows :

1- The Stimulus : this was the Persian War which in duration, intensity and audacity was unparalleled and unprecedented in the long history of the Sasanid-Byzantine conflict, during which the Persians succeeded in occupying Oriens, Egypt, invading Anatolia, and laying siege to Constantinople itself. A war on such a gigantic scale entailed a commensurate response and this had always been the pattern of Byzantine responses to the military challenges that emanated from Persia.

2- Oriens was the Diocese that suffered most from the Persian War since it bore the brunt of the initial Persian thrust. That thrust destroyed its military defence system, which had obtained for three centuries since the days of Diocletian. It was also the Diocese within which was located the Holy Land and the Holy City, Jerusalem, the spiritual capital of an Empire that had been the citadel of Christianity since the fourth century. In addition to its fall, also unprecedented, it suffered destruction : the Holy Cross was carried away and there were some massacres. This humiliating situation prevailed for fifteen years. So at the end of the war and after the Byzantine victory Oriens needed and deserved protection against a reprise of the Persian invasion. It needed it since it was the most exposed of all Byzantine territories to a Persian attack, especially after the destruction of a defence system that had proved its bankruptcy. And it deserved it as the Diocese that had within it the Holy Land and the Holy City, the Spiritual capital of the Empire that owed so much of its salvation from the Persians to the support of the Church, spiritually and materially. And holiness was not related only to the Holy Land with its traditional boundaries but also to other spots in Oriens, celebrated for their Christian associations, such as Edessa and Antioch in the North, Emesa and Damascus in the middle with the relics of John the Baptist. So the entire Diocese was holy land in this sense.

3- The Agent of the much needed drastic military overhaul for the protection of Oriens was exceptionally well equipped for this task, and possessed all the relevant features of background for its implementation. Unlike the *autokrators* who preceded him since Theodosius I in the fourth century, he took the field himself. In addition to being a student of strategies, he was a seasoned soldier, who had campaigned hard and long, and he was not a prisoner of the Limes mentality that prevailed in the Orient but was innovative as he hailed from the Occident. Thus he was ready to work out an effective defence system for the protection of one of the most important dioceses in his Empire, which had been raped and has recently been recovered from the Persians.

He was also in a special relationship to Oriens as a holy Diocese. He personally owed Patriarch Sergius and the Church much support, both spiritual and material, when the latter contributed substantially of her wealth to support his war effort. But of all the regions of the Empire, Oriens was for the Church the most important of all the Dioceses, because of its holiness. Hence its protection was especially desirable and

called for as a reflection of his gratitude. And he had sealed his allegiance to the Church when he drastically shortened the long cumbersome titularture into *pistos en Christo basileus*, shedding its secular elements and centring it on Christ, whose Cross, moreover, he literally carried on his shoulders when he returned it to the holiest shrine of Christianity in Jerusalem.

Thus, Oriens provided Heraclius with the venue for that remarkable act of "piety", which no other Byzantine Emperor before or after performed. In so doing, it projected of him a flattering image as *Restitutor Crucis* and also refurbished one that had been tarnished by an incestuous marriage with a niece. It is only natural to conclude that an Emperor of such description and one who was in a very special relationship to Oriens should have especially attended to its protection through the adoption of some drastic measures.

4- The Pilgrim : that Heraclius came in person to Oriens is a most relevant fact in this context. Although he came as pilgrim on a *theoria*, his pilgrimage was at the same time an inspection tour of a commander-in-chief, whose task now was to win the peace after he had won the war. He actually saw for himself and not only heard, while far away in Constantinople, about the destruction that took place in Jerusalem and the sad state of the Diocese as a result of the Persian invasion. This experience must have contributed even more to his determination, both as a Christian pilgrim and as a Byzantine emperor to protect the Christian Holy Land and the Secular Byzantine Diocese. Heraclius arrived in Jerusalem not after a sea voyage to Ceaserea but by the overland route from the north from Edessa, and on his way back he traversed roughly the same route, virtually that of the Persians when they invaded Oriens in A.D. 614 and occupied it. This journey through the length of Oriens gave him an intimate knowledge of the Diocese – the facts of its physical geography, crucial for working out an informed and efficient defence system – a military *renovatio* for its protection. As he re-built the churches of Jerusalem, destroyed by the Persians, he also re-built the defences of the Diocese that protected Jerusalem and its Holy Land, also devastated by the Persians.

5- The Response by an agent of this description who was in a very special relation to the Holy Land which he actually visited as a pilgrim and inspected as a commander-in-chief must have been a drastic one. The congeries of eleven provinces that had constituted the Diocese were badly

devastated by the Persian invasion, which also superannuated the defence system. The intensity and novelty of the invasion called for a response *commensurate* with both these qualities of the Persians military challenge. The new look of provincial Oriens as re-organized by Heraclius has survived into the early Islamic period and this makes possible the visualizaiton of Oriens as left by Byzantium after its vacation of Oriens. The eleven provinces vanish and in their stead only four appear, running parallel to one another and extending from the east in the desert to the west reaching the sea, and thus appear as lines of defence protecting Jerusalem and the Holy Land from invaders such as the Persians, who came from the north. The name of these new four provinces has survived only in Arabic Ajnâd, plural of Jund.

6- Themes : These four new provincial units known as Ajnâd, have been identified with the Byzantine Themata associated with the Emperor Heraclius whose creation of the Anatolian Themes is vouched for by one school of Byzantine historians. The Ajnâd have two of the three important features of the Themes, namely their large size and the strictly military character of their administration.

The Thematic character of these Ajnâd is clinched by the term, Jund, applied to them, which is unique in the lexicology of Arabic and which has been a curiosity, inexplicable to the Medieval Arab authors. The mystery surrounding Jund has been solved by the discovery that is none other than a translation of Greek Thema, which like Jund means at one and the same time, the military circumscription and the army corps that was stationed in it, an appellation unique in the land of the Islamic caliphate to Oriens, tell-tale evidence of its Byzantine origin.

The identification of the Ajnâd with the Themes is confirmed by the African experience of Heraclius. He had hailed not from the Orient where the Limes concept of defence had prevailed but from the Occident, which witnessed the creation of the Exarchates of Carthage and Ravenna, militarized zones that were virtually Themata. This represented a novel system of defence introduced for dealing with special threats to Roman dominion by the Berbers and the Lombards, respectively. The application of such a novel system of defence as prevailed in the Occident was the right response in Oriens to the Persian threat, which by its novelty and intensity called for a commensurate response on these two scores. It was therefore natural for Heraclius to stamp the defence system of Oriens with the image of his father's Exarchate.

7- Unfinished : the Themes of Oriens were left unfinished by Byzantium. One important feature that attached to them in late Byzantium times, the *stratiôtika ktêmata* was missing in these Oriental Themes. The Arab Conquest which followed at the heels of the re-occupation of Oriens by Byzantium gave short shrift to the implementation of the new defence system of Themes in all its features, and so, little time was left for it to acquire one important feature – the *stratiôtika ktêmata*, which of all the features associated with the Themes was the one that needed a long time for its implementation. Even if it started to develop it would not have survived the advent of the new Islamic Order. The Arab Muslim adoption of the Byzantine Themes entailed also its *adaptation* to the ideals and practices of the new masters of Oriens. The caliph, 'Umar, definitely did not want his troops in the Ajnâd of Oriens to become, even degenerate, into farmer-soldiers, and so he paid them in cash instead of granting them hereditary lands, the *stratiôtika ktêmata* that attached to the Byzantine Themes. The Umayyad Ajnâd were thus Byzantine Themes (minus the *stratiôtika ktêmata* as one of their features), adopted but adapted, and so they remained throughout Umayyad times.

8- Heraclius continuator : the quest for the Heraclian origin of the Themes has revealed that Continuity and Gradualness, which the Heraclidans have advocated, were not absent from the process whereby the Thematization of Oriens was attempted by Heraclius. The phases through which this process passed may be presented as follows :

a Ten years in Carthage represent the first phase during which Heraclius was witness to the administration of that province in the Roman Occident through Exarchization.
b The first twenty years or so of his reign, during which he was fighting the Persians and mulling over what he had witnessed in Carthage and what could be applied in the Orient.
c The few years in the thirties, possibly a triennium, during which the Thematization of Oriens was attempted but which was left unfinished after the Arab Muslim Conquest of Oriens nipped it in the bud.

Those who deal with the Thematization of Anatolia should remember these phases through which Heraclius' relation to Thematization passed – a long period of gestation that lasted for some thirty years – before Thematization or further Thematization in Anatolia was attempted.

*

The arm of co-incidence is and, indeed, can be very long, but it is impossible to believe that it can be so stretched and elongated as to comprise and accommodate the above enumeration of this rare conjunction of evens, circumstances, and personalities, involved in the creation of the Ajnâd/Themes of Oriens. This suggests necessity not chance or co-incidence, the operation of forces and factors – a causal sequence – that inevitably led to the Thematization of Oriens, incomplete and unfinished as it was, during a triennium that intervened between the victory of Nineveh and the defeat of Yarmûk.

Georgetown University / Dumbarton Oaks. Irfan SHAHÎD.

-Appendices-

Four appendices are attached to this article : a chronology, maps, a biographical notice, and a review.

1- The first is a chronology of the three decades of the reign of Heraclius, which involve the Byzantine conflict with the Persians and the Arabs. This periodization is important for understanding the events and circumstances that led to the Thematization of Oriens.

2- The second consists of maps, a helpful guide to the various stages in the history or Oriens in this period. Map III shows the places at which Heraclius stopped during his pilgrimage to Oriens in A.D.630. No arrows have been drawn since his exact route is not very clear in the sources.

3- The third appendix briefly treats the career of Muḥammed ibn-Marwân, who was involved in the separation of Jazîra from the Junds of Oriens. As he was also heavily involved in the campaigns in Armenia, he is important for the history of Arab-Byzantine relations.

4- The fourth appendix is a brief notice of the most recent article that has appeared on the origin of the Themes, in which the author discusses the Theme, Opsikion.

I. Chronology

1- The first phase represents the Persian occupation of Oriens which lasted for some fifteen years from A.D.614 to 629.

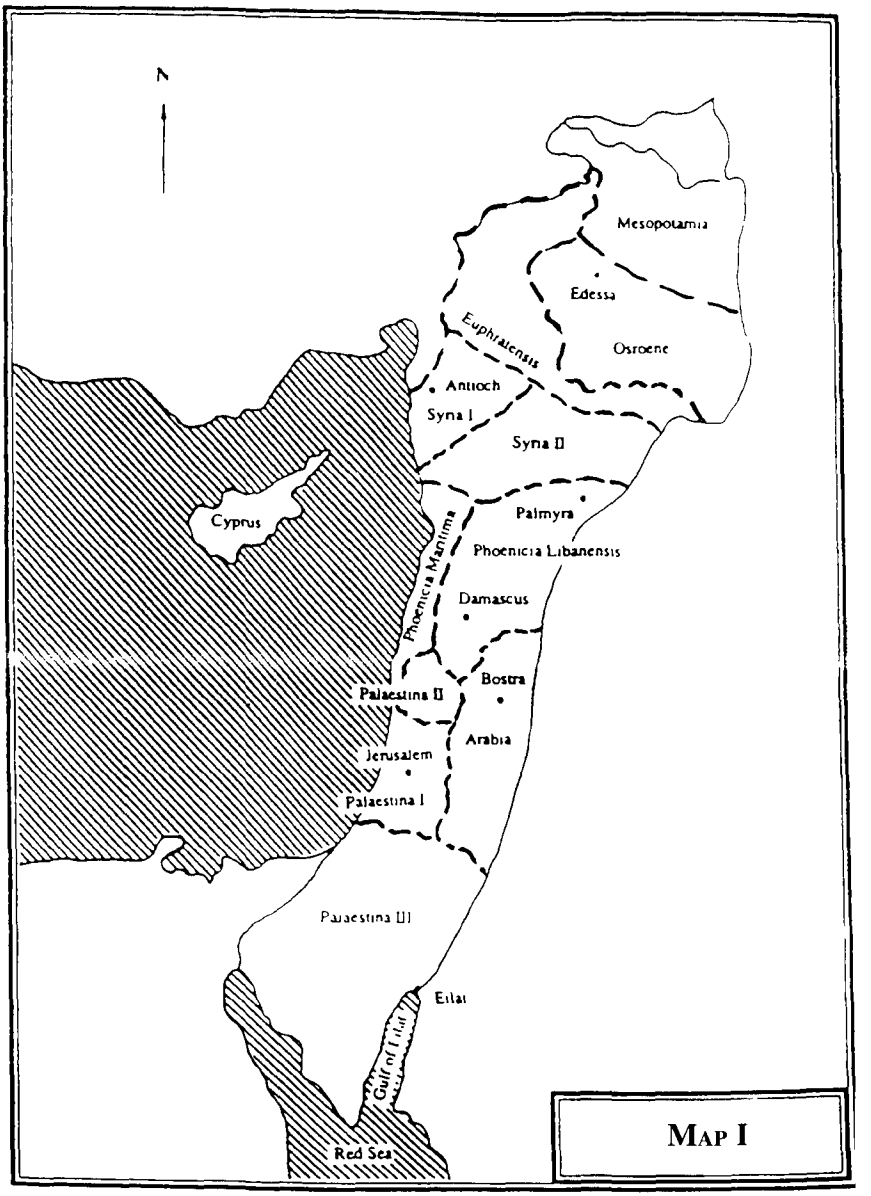
2- The period of one year, 629-630, when the Byzantine army returned to the occupation of Oriens before the arrival of Heraclius, and it may be termed the pre-Heraclian period.

3- The Heraclian period of a few months in A.D. 630, during which Heraclius visited Oriens and returned the Cross to Jerusalem.

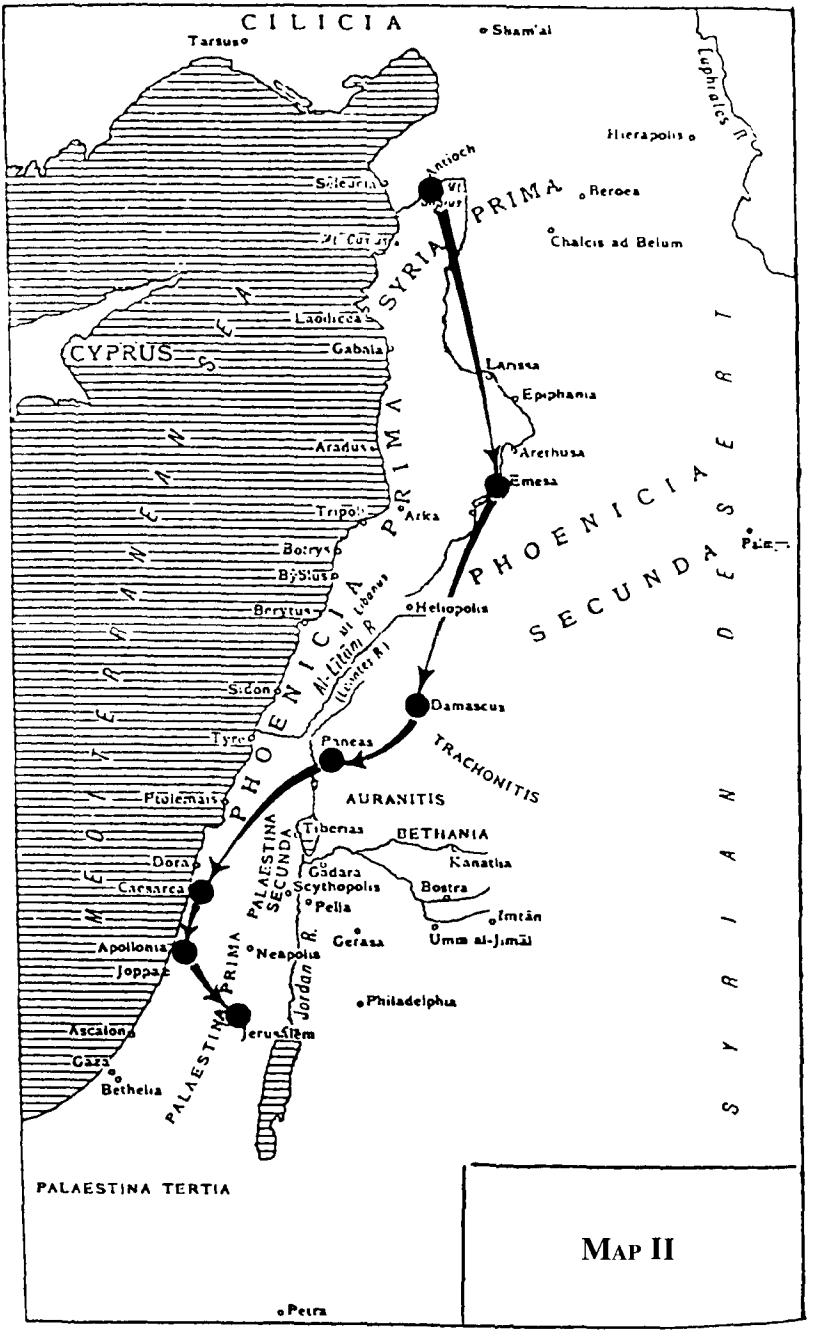
4- The Post-Heraclian period after his departure, which may be dated to the three or four years that elapsed between his departure and the first offensive of the Arabs in A.D.634.

5- The period of the Muslim offensive during which the major battles were fought, the climax of which was the Yarmûk in A.D.636.

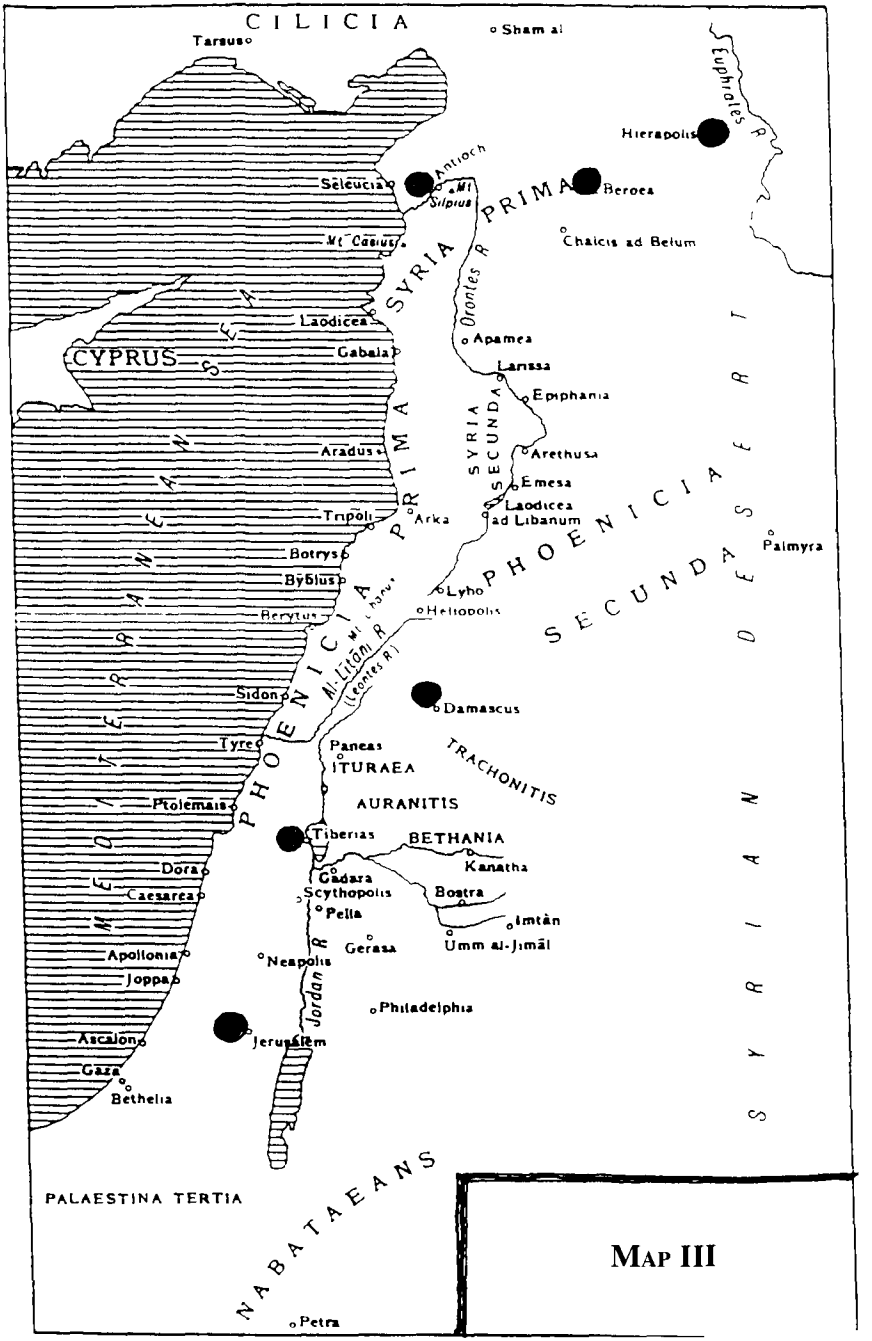
It is against this chronological framework that the new realities that obtained in Oriens and with which Heraclius was faced must be set.



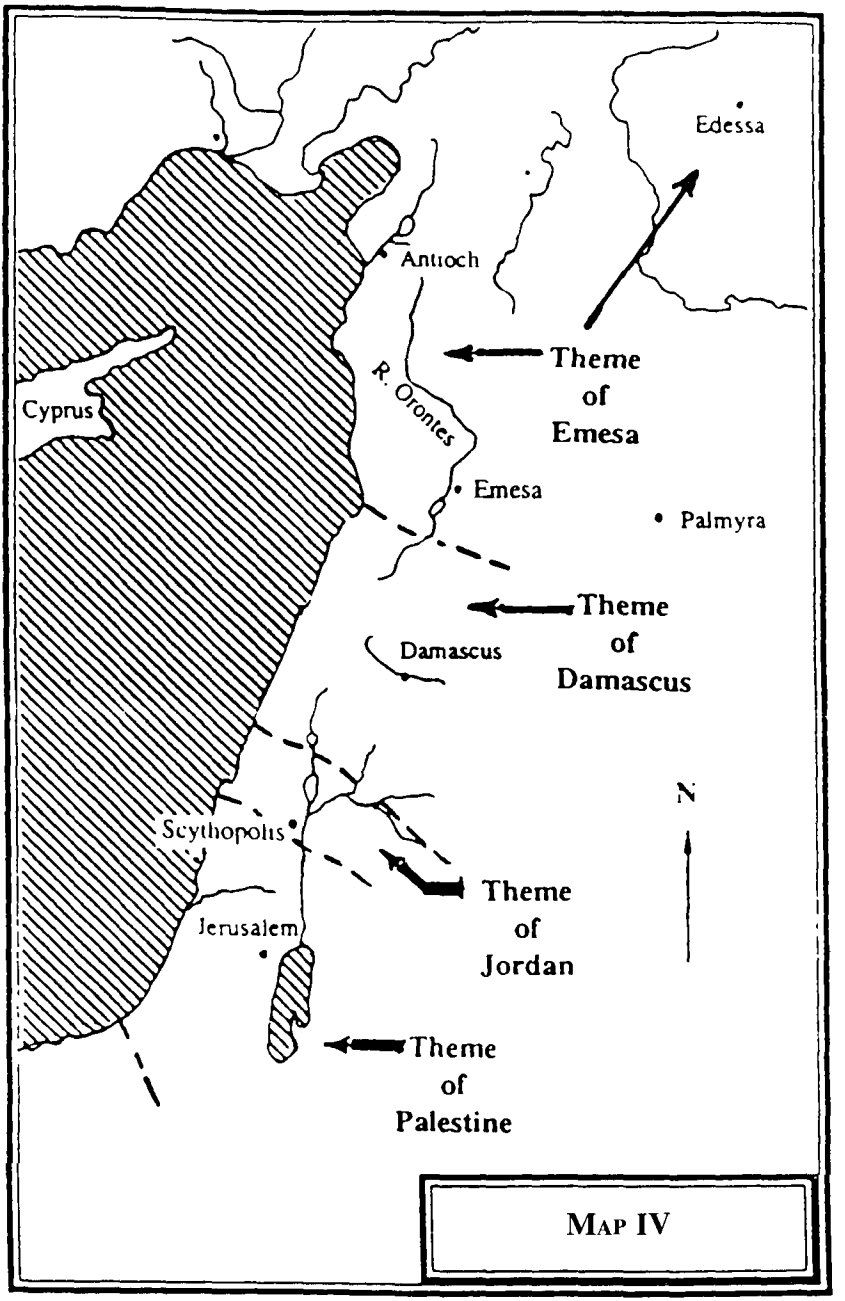
MAP 1. — Byzantine Oriens before the Persian Conquest
The Eleven Provinces



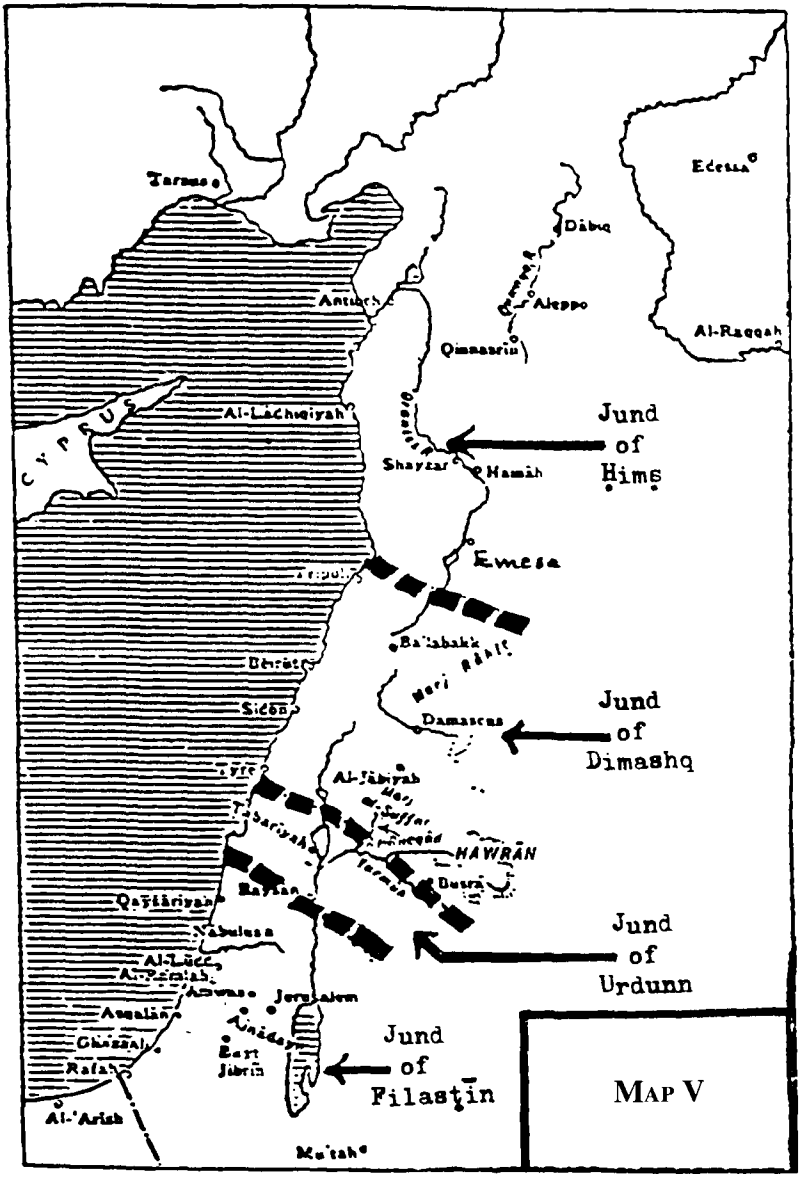
MAP II. — The arrows illustrate the Persian advance through Byzantine Oriens



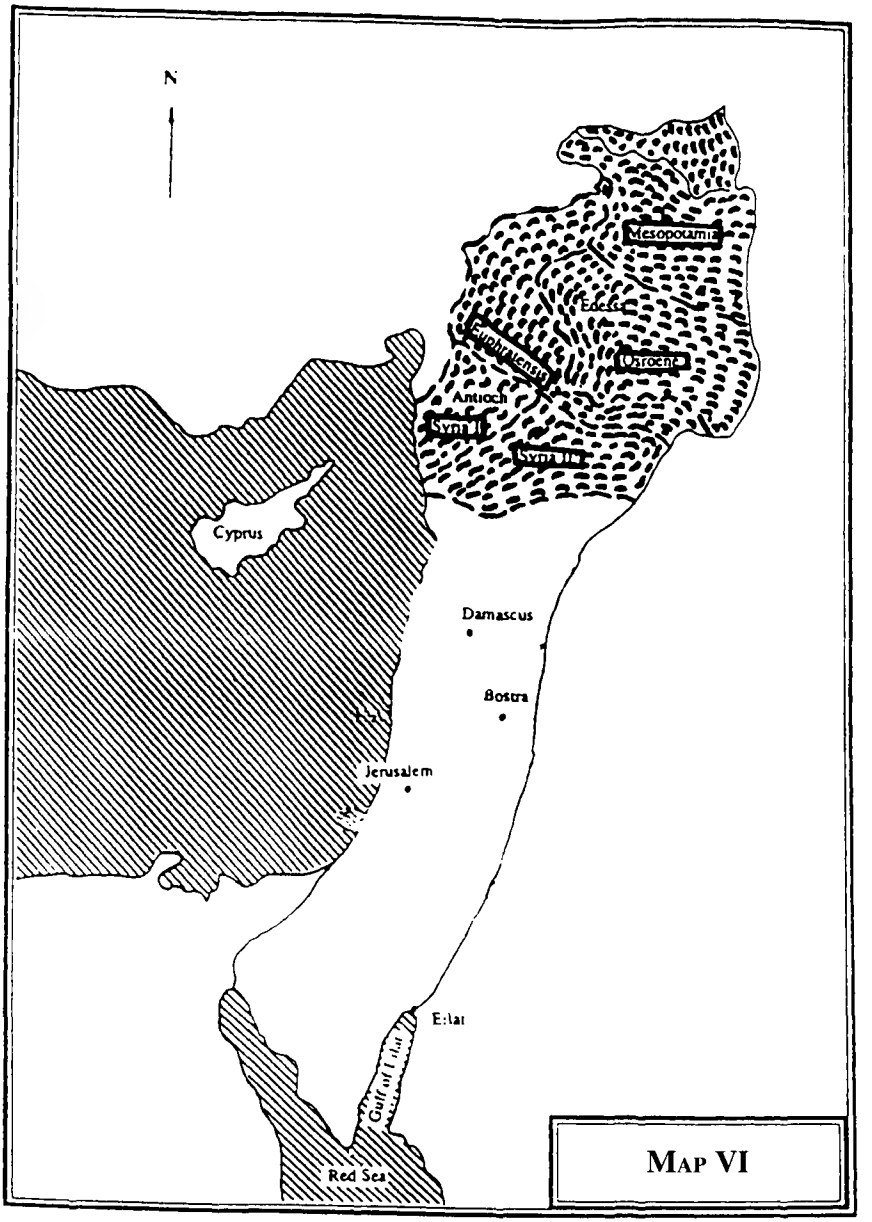
MAP III. — Heraclius in Oriens A.D. 630



MAP IV. — The Unfinished Byzantine Themes of Oriens



MAP V — Muslim Shām/Oriens in the Patriarchal and early Umayyad period : the four *Ajnād*



MAP VI. — Byzantine Oriens after the Persian Evacuation
The *Jund* / Theme of Ḥimṣ / Emesa

III. Muḥammad Ibn-Marwân

Muḥammad and the separation of Jazîra from Qinnasrîn deserve some attention since both are important in the history of Arab-Byzantine relations. Strangely enough there is no entry on Muḥammed in the new *EI.*

Muḥammad was the son of the founder of the Marwânid branch of the Umayyad Dynasty and its founder, Marwân ibn-al-Ḥakam, and the father of the last Marwânid Umayyad caliph, Marwân II, whose patronymic was ibn-Muḥammad. Much that is known about him does not come from Ṭabarî, who does not give him attention, but Khalîfa ibn-Khayyâṭ does, the earliest author of annalistic Islamic Arabic historiography, who wrote in the first half of the ninth century under al-Ma'mûn and al-Mu'taṣim. See *Târikh Khalîfa ibn-Khayyâṭ* ed. A. al-'Umarî, (Beriuit, 1977), pp. 270, 271, 275, 328.

Muḥammad is especially important because of the *ṣawâ'if*, the summer campaigns he led against Byzantium in Eastern Anatolia, but more in the Caucasus, especially Armenia. Most memorable of these was his campaign in the early nineties, when 'Abd al-Malik resumed the war against Byzantium after Justinian II refused to recognise the newly minted Arabic Muslim currency struck by 'Abd al-Malik ; Muḥammad was put in command of the expedition directed against Armenia, where he defeated Justinian in A.D.693. He again invaded Armenia IV in A.D.702 and captured Marytropolis in A.D. 703 ; in so doing, he considerably strengthened the Umayyad hold over Armenia ; see Philip Grierson "The Monetary Reforms of 'Abd al-Malik" *Journal of the Social and Economic History of the Orient*, 3, (1960), pp. 241-264 ; Stratos, *Byzantium V* pp. 19-40, 77.

What is relevant in this context is the reason behind the separation of Jazîra from Qinnasrîn and so from Oriens, which must be sought in the campaigns which the Umayyads were conducting against the Caucasus and eastern Anatolia. These were different from those which used to be directed against central and western Anatolia because those targeted Constantinople itself. So, these called for the formation of a special command across the Euphrates and close to the field of operations in Armenia and the Caucasus. Hence the separation of Jazîra. This is confirmed by the further extension of this command to include both Armenia and Adarbayjân, over which Muḥammad was put in charge. This new large administrative and military unit persisted well into 'Abbâsid times, reflected in the appointment by the first 'Abbâsid caliph, al-Saffâḥ, of his brother, Abû-Ja'far (the future caliph, al-Manṣûr) over the same area, just as 'Abd al-Malik had appointed his brother Muḥammad over it : see *Târikh Khalifa ibn - Khayyâṭ*, p. 414.

IV. Review

In a *Festschrift* for Paul Speck that has appeared after the completion of this article, there is a contribution by Wolfram Brandes titled, "Philippos ὁ στρατη-

λάτης τοῦ βασιλικοῦ Ὀψικίου : Anmerkungen zur Frühgeschichte des Thema Opsikion" for which see *Novum Millenium*, edd. Claudia Sode and Sarolta Takács, Variorum, Ashgate, (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 21-39.

-A-

Although the article deals with the early history of the Theme Opsikion, which the author dates to the late seventh century and not to the reign of Heraclius, a view already held and expressed by other Heraclidans, Brandes goes beyond the discussion of the Theme into making *pronunciamentos* on the origin of the entire Theme system, both at the beginning and at the end of the article. At the same time he burns incense at the altar of his *fautor* by saluting him bibliographically and remembering him in the first asterisked footnote. His article calls for the following comments :

1- It is perfectly proper for the author, as a confirmed Heraclidan, to indulge in generalizations about the non-Heraclian origin of the Theme system. What is not so proper is his unscientific outburst, expressed in the second paragraph of his article (p. 21). Although an utter outsider to the dialogue on the Ajnâd/ Themata thesis, he set himself up as a Daniel in whose judgement lies the final authoritative word and, so, announces that attempts to re-establish Heraclius as the originator of the Theme System must be declared "*gescheitert*".

2- He footnotes this outburst (p. 21, n. 4) with a reference to only two of the three articles that have appeared on the Ajnâd/Themata thesis and, so, lays himself open to the charge of disingenuous selectiveness since he omits reference to the third article, Ajnâd/Themata III, the one that answered in *detail* and rejected Haldon's thesis on the Ducalization of Oriens and re-affirmed its Thematization, primitive as that was. Brandes certainly knows this article since in the same footnote he cites Haldon's "Seventh Century Continuities", which was a reply to it. Furthermore, he banishes from the General Bibliography (pp. 37-39) all reference to the three articles on the Ajnâd/Themata, and he accords the same treatment to the work of Warren Treadgold to which he already gave short shrift (p. 21, n. 3).

3- In the first two paragraphs of his article, Brandes helps himself to the employment of such bombastic and emotive terms as *Schulspunkt, verschwand . . . . . auf einen Schlag,* and *Verwaltungsact,* as a prelude for his animadversion on the Ajnâd/Themata thesis. By implication, he ascribes to me what I have not said and do not hold and which I have left for others to treat. The subject of Brandes' article is the Theme Opsikion, an Anatolian Theme, and yet he does not hesitate to use it as a stepping stone for mounting an offensive against the Ajnâd/Themata thesis, which deals with the Oriental, and not the Anatolian Themes, and presents an entirely new approach to the problem with new evidence and a new region where Thematization was attempted.

4- The Jeremiad he composed (p. 22) on the state of the Byzantine sources as the cause behind what he calls *Stillstand der Forschung* is consonant with his being faithfully wedded to the Heraclidan position on the origin of the Themes. That position has prevented him from opening his eyes to see the bright new light that has been shed on the problem from the Arabic sources and Arab history.

-B-

Brandes' temerity in thinking that he has the "True Gospel" on the origin of the Theme System as well as the manner in which he "authoritatively" expressed himself has introduced an offensive tone into the decent dialogue that has been going on between the two protagonists in this arena, namely Haldon and myself. This has been a most fruitful dialogue in our field and should remain such and retain its quality. Yet, despite Brandes' introduction of such terms as I deprecated, his article has a positive profile, related to the very terms I have found objectionable, *einen Schlag* and *Verwaltungsact.* These terms have alerted me to the desirability, even necessity, of charting the phases through which the involvement of Heraclius in the process of Thematization went through, phases that need and deserve to be pointed out, however briefly and synoptically, and this has been done in the paragraphs that conclude the main text of this article (above p. 43, no. 8).

DOCUMENT

BAROCCIANUS GR. 50 : ΕΠΙΜΕΡΙΣΜΟΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΟΝ ΓΡΑΦΙΚΑ.

TERMINUS ANTE QUEM POUR LE LEXIQUE DE THÉODOSE LE GRAMMAIRIEN (IX^{e} s.)

En 1835, J. A. Cramer a publié la lettre A d'un petit lexique ou plutôt d'un glossaire «sur les canons» tel qu'il se trouve dans le ms *Baroccianus Gr. 50* (1). Curieusement, H. Coxe, dans sa publication en 1853 du catalogue des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Bodleiène d'Oxford, ne mentionne aucun glossaire «sur les canons» dans sa description du *Baroccianus Gr. 50* (2).

Un siècle et demi après, la question reste ouverte : le glossaire existe-t-il ou non ? Et s'il existe, qui en est l'auteur, de quand date-t-il, quelle est l'histoire de son texte et de ses éditions, si elles ont été réalisées ? Notre recherche vise à apporter une réponse à ces questions (3).

L'étude du manuscrit *Baroccianus Gr. 50* confirme que le glossaire «sur les canons» se trouve bien entre les ff.222^{v}-223, sous le titre : Λεξικόν τῶν κανώνων [sic]. Il s'agit de 42 gloses avec des explications (= lemmes) sur les mots difficiles des canons liturgiques des trois grandes fêtes de l'année : Noël, Epiphanie et Pentecôte (4). Ces canons sont

(1) J. A. CRAMER, *Anecdota Graeca e coddicibus manuscriptis bibliothecarum Oxoniensium*, Oxford, 1835, rééd. Amsterdam 1963, II, pp. 473-475 (= CRAMER, *Anecdota Oxon.*).

(2) H. O. COXE, *Bodleian Library. Quatro Catalogues*, I : *Greek Manuscripts*, Oxford, 1853, col. 70-78 (= COXE, *Bibl.Bodleian*).

(3) Cet article constitue simultament un travail préparatoire à l'édition critique du texte de ce glossaire.

(4) Le texte des canons de J. Damascène a été édité prémièrement par la Patrologie, t. 96, col. 817c-840a, qui réproduit l'édition de J. Bill de 1575. En

attribués à saint Jean Damascène et à Cosmas le Mélode, évêque de Maiouma (5).

Mais le *Baroccianus* (= B) et l'édition de Cramer ne constituent pas l'unique témoin de ce glossaire. L. Bachmann et G. de Andrés ont effectué l'édition des différents mss de ce glossaire : le premier a édité le texte du *Par. Coisl. Gr. 345* (= C) (6), du IX^{e}/X^{e} s., et le deuxième celui du *Villamil 30* (= M) de la fin du X^{e} s. (7). L. de Stefani a édité le texte du *Rom. Angel. Gr. 7* (B.5.11) (= A) du XIV^{e} s. (8) et F. Montana 51 lemmes des lettres A, B et Γ sur la base du *Laur. 57. 48* (= L) du XV^{e} s. (9). Dans l'apparat critique de celui-ci sont reprises les leçons des mss B, C, M, A et celles du *Laur. 57. 26* (= L_1) du XIV^{e} s. Il existe aussi une édition critique, qui date du début du XX^{e} siècle, réalisée par L. de Stefani et fondée sur les mss B, C et L_1. L'auteur mentionne en plus les influences du glossaire sur les œuvres lexicographiques postérieures (10).

Si ces éditions prouvent que le glossaire est beaucoup plus vaste (environ 245 lemmes pour toutes les lettres de l'alphabet à l'exclusion de la lettre Ψ) que le fragment du *Baroccianus*, les problèmes semblent davantage concerner la présentation de ce manuscrit plutôt que l'œuvre elle-même.

second lieu dans l'édition de W. CHRIST – M. PARANIKAS, *Anthologia Graeca carminum Christianorum*, Lipsiae, 1871, rééd. Hildesheim 1963, pp. 165-173, pour les canons de Cosmas et pp. 199-215 pour les canons de Jean Damascène. Cette édition se base sur trois mss de XIII ou XIVs., *op.cit.*, p. CXLIV. Les canons de Jean Damascène sont édités aussi par A. NAUCK, *Ioannis Damasceni canones iambici cum commentario et indice verborum ex schedis Augusti Nauck editi* publié avec l'aide de P. NIKITIN dans *Mélanges gréco-romains* tirés du *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St-Pétersbourg*, 6 (1893), pp. 199-224.

(5) Pour les auteurs des canons cfr A. KAZHDAN, *A History of Byzantine Literature (650-850)*, Athènes, 1999, pp. 75-77 et 107-111.

(6) L. BACHMANN, *Anecdota Graeca*, Leipzig, 1828, I, pp. 450-459 (= BACHMANN, *Anecdota*).

(7) G. de ANDRÉS, *Carta de Teodosio el gramatico (IX s.) sobre el lexico de los canones de san Juan Damasceno, segun el codice complutense «Villamil No 30»* dans *Emerita*, 41 (1973), pp. 377-395 (= ANDRÉS, *Lexico*).

(8) L. de STEFANI, *Il lessico ai canoni giambici di Giovanni Damasceno secondo un ms. Romano*, dans *BZ*, 21 (1912), pp. 431-435 (= STEFANI, *Lessico*).

(9) F. MONTANA, *L'inizio del lessico di Teodosio grammatico ai canoni liturgici nel Laur.57.48*, dans *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione classica*, 123 (1995), pp. 193-200 (= MONTANA, *Lessico nel Laur. 57.48*).

(10) L. de STEFANI, *Per le fonti dell' Etimologico Gudiano*, dans *BZ*, 16 (1907), pp. 52-68 (= STEFANI, *Fonti Et.Gudiano*).

En effet, le *Baroccianus Gr. 50*, codex en parchemin de 387 feuillets (11), de 205 × 140 mm, daté de la fin du IX^e^ à la fin du X^e^ s., est d'origine discutable. Il a retenu l'attention de plusieurs spécialistes qui ont examiné son ornementation, sa provenance, sa datation et son écriture et en plus il était «le manuscrit qui..... incita les érudits à s'intéresser à la littérature orthographique byzantine» (12). Il y a une trentaine d'années, J. Irigoin a résumé en quelques lignes son contenu : «...entre autres œuvres l'épyllion de Musée, Héro et Léandre, la Batrachomyomachie, le Physiologus, des lettres de Philostrate et de Libanius, les quarante fables d'Aphthonius et une collection d'épigrammes byzantines. La première partie du manuscrit est constituée d'un ensemble de traités grammaticaux et lexicographiques ; pour plusieurs d'entre eux, il en est la source unique : Canons grammaticaux de Théognoste, Traité d'orthographe de Choiroboskos, et ces 'Εκλογαὶ qui sont apparentées étroitement à l'un des recueils utilisés par Photios pour son Lexique» et il conclut : «...même si certains textes du Barocci 50 se rattachent à la tradition byzantine orientale, il me paraît assuré que l'ensemble ainsi constitué ne peut pas avoir été établi à Constantinople au temps d'Aréthas ni à celui de Photius» (13). Dans un récent article, Irigoin le rattache selon toute probabilité à l'Italie du Sud (14) et il indique «la présence assurée du *Baroccianus* en Italie méridionale aux alentours de l'an mil» (15).

Outre ces conclusions étayées par des critères extérieurs (paléographiques et ornementaux), l'étude des textes transmis seulement par le *Baroccianus* peut aider à répondre aux questions posées.

Le *Baroccianus*, outre les autres œuvres déjà signalées, transmet aussi des collections de mots sous différents titres. La rédaction de petits glos-

(11) Coxe, *Bibl. Bodleian*, col.70 : «codex membranaceus, sec. forsan X», et in marg. First half of 10th c.[P.Maass].

(12) J. Schneider, *Les traités orthographiques grecs antiques et byzantins*, (*Corpus Christianorum, Lingua Patrum*, III), Turnhout, 1999, p. 225.

(13) J. Irigoin, *L'Italie méridionale et la tradition des textes antiques*, dans *JÖB*, 18 (1969), pp. 37-55 (= Irigoin, *Italie et textes antiques*) et pour l'extrait pp. 50-51.

(14) J. Irigoin, *Pour un bon usage des abréviations : le cas du Vaticanus graecus 1611 et du Barocci 50*, dans *Scriptorium*, 48/1 (1994), pp. 3-17 (= Irigoin, *Barocci 50*) avec l'ensemble de la bibliographie pour le Baroccianus.

(15) J. Irigoin, *L'Italie méridionale et la transmission des textes grecs du VII^e^ au XII^e^ siècle*, dans *Ο Ιταλιώτικος Ελληνισμός από τον Ζ΄ στον ΙΒ΄ αιώνα* (Εθνικό Ίδρυμα *Ερευνών. Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών. Διεθνή Συμπόσια*, 8) Athènes, 2001, p. 94.

saires est une pratique répandue dans la littérature byzantine ([16]). Une étape suivante est franchie avec l'apparition des mss-collections qui contiennent plusieurs glossaires ; des exemples caractéristiques en sont les *Par. Coisl. Gr. 345* et *394* ([17]). A. B. Drachmann, dans son étude sur la tradition manuscrite du lexique de Cyrille, a présenté un nombre considérable de mss de ce type dont plusieurs glossaires restent à éditer et dont l'acolouthie reste à étudier ([18]).

Le *Baroccianus* est également caractérisé par une certaine originalité : dans une œuvre intitulée Ἐκλογαὶ διαφόρων λέξεων συνηλεγμένων ἔκ τε τῆς γραφῆς καὶ τῶν θύραθεν πραγματειῶν (ff. 292-321) éditée aussi par Cramer ([19]), la composition suit un modèle différent. Le copiste n'expose pas les glossaires l'un après l'autre mais il copie à chaque lettre de l'alphabet, les lemmes correspondants. Ainsi, par exemple pour la lettre A, après quelques lemmes à initiale A (f. 292), au f. 292ᵛ sous le titre λέξεις τῆς γραμματικῆς il donne des lemmes de ce glossaire qui commencent par la lettre A et qui se réfèrent à la «grammaire». Au milieu du même feuillet, sous le titre λέξεις τοῦ ψαλτῆρος, il copie les premiers lemmes (f. 292ᵛ-293) d'un autre glossaire. Finalement aux ff. 293-293ᵛ, se trouvent les lemmes à initiale A d'un troisième glossaire intitulé λέξεις ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ ἁγίου Νικηφόρου ([20]) et le même système se continue dans toute les lettres de l'alphabet.

Il semble que le compilateur des Ἐπιμερισμοὶ κατὰ στοιχεῖον γραφικά, qui se trouve dans le manuscrit avant les Ἐκλογαί (ff. 210-291ᵛ) avait l'intention de suivre le même modèle avec ses propres collections de mots. Sa structure retiendra toute notre attention puisque dans ses feuillets se trouve le glossaire «sur les canons».

(16) H. HUNGER, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, München, 1978, II, pp. 33-50 et p. 46 n. 70 (= HUNGER, *Literatur*).

(17) R. DEVREESSE, *Le Fonds Coislin (Catalogue des manuscrits grecs)*, Paris, 1945, pp. 329-330 et 372-373.

(18) A. B. DRACHMANN, *Die Überlieferung des Cyrillglossars (Det Kgl. Danske Videnkabernes Selskab., Hist.-filol. Meddelelser*, XXI, 5), Copenhague, 1936, pp. 54-55. Il mentionne entre autres les mss : *Vatican. Gr. 2130, Holkham. 289, Vallic. E 37* et *E 11, Urbin. 157, Haun. 1968, Selestadiens. 105*, pp. 7-26 et 54-55.

(19) CRAMER, *Anecdota Oxon.*, II, pp. 427-470.

(20) L'éditeur a respecté cette structure, cfr *supra*, pp. 428-429.

Les «Epimérismes» (= Ep.) «qui signifient répartitions et dans son usage grammatical il doit signifier que l'on répartit un texte en mots» ([21]) étaient des espèces d'analyses grammaticales qui essayaient de dire «tout sur le mot» ([22]). Ce genre littéraire fleurissait à Byzance ([23]) et doit être relié avec l'enseignement secondaire ([24]). Les Ἐπιμερισμοὶ κατὰ στοιχεῖον γραφικά, dont l'unique ms qui contient l'ensemble du texte ([25]) est le *Baroccianus Gr. 50,* sont, comme nous l'avons déjà dit, mentionnés par Coxe ([26]) et édités aussi par Cramer ([27]). Nous supposons que leur copiste, comme l'indique leur titre dont le mot γραφικά est difficilement explicable ([28]), voulait former un corpus de mots d'usage courant. Il est possible que son intention ait été d'appliquer une méthode utilisée ensuite avec plus de succès par les Ἐκλογαί puisqu'il a intercalé, sur deux colonnes (ff. 222^{v}-223) et sous le titre : Λεξικόν τῶν κανώνων (sic) après les Ep. à initiale A, 44 lemmes de la lettre A du glossaire sur les canons, suivis de (deuxième moitié du f. 223) 14 lemmes d'un autre glossaire repris sous le titre τοῦ θεολόγου. Le phénomène se répète aux lettres B, Γ, Δ et E mais seulement pour le glossaire des canons, le f. 225 comporte donc également après le lemme βόρβορος, 9 lemmes du glossaire disposés en deux colonnes à la fin de la lettre B. Dans la marge, le copiste a annoté τῶν κανόνων. Au f. 227^{v}, sur deux colonnes aussi se trouvent 4 lemmes du glossaire, lettre Γ, et dans la marge, κανόνων. Vers le milieu du f. 230, après δρόσος, sur une colonne, nous rencontrons 12 lemmes du glossaire de la lettre Δ et dans la marge l'annotation τῶν κανόνων. A la fin (f. 236) nous avons trois lemmes du glossaire de la lettre E sur une colonne, sans

(21) J. Schneider, *op. cit.*, p. 418 et R. H. Robins, *The Byzantine Grammarians. Their Place in History*, Berlin-New York, 1993, p. 125.

(22) Hunger, *Literatur*, II, pp. 22-23.

(23) Pour l'ensemble de la bibliographie sur les *Epimérismes*, cfr L. Cohln, *Epimerismen*, dans *Der neue Pauly Enzyklopädie der Antike*, III, col. 1145-1146.

(24) Quel autre argument pour l'usage scolaire des Ep. peut être plus fort que la lettre d'un professeur, responsable d'une école typique du x^{e} s., : Ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς ἀναστρέφεται δὶς τῆς ἑβδομάδος ... ἀπὸ στόματος αὐτοῦ ... τῶν ἐπιμερισμῶν ὁ τρίτος ἤρηται τούτῳ ψαλμός, Ep. 110, 14-17, dans *Anonymi professoris epistulae*, rec. A. Markopoulos, (*C.F.H.B.*, 37), Berlin-New York, 2000, p. 94.

(25) J. Schneider, *op. cit.*, p. 418, où il parle d'un autre ms qui contient un extrait du texte.

(26) Coxe, *Bibl. Bodleian*, col. 73.

(27) Cramer, *Anecdota Oxon.*, II, pp. 331-426.

(28) J. Schneider, *op. cit.*, p. 418.

annotation marginale, suivis des Ep. de la lettre E. Par conséquent une description détaillée du texte des Ep. s'avère indispensable.

Les Ep. sont disposées en colonne unique et les initiales des lemmes simplement ornées d'un peu de rouge ; les numéros des quaternions sont notés à la grecque en haut à droite de la première page (f. 210 : κζ′, f. 218 : κη′, f. 226 : κθ′, f. 234 : λ′, f. 242 : λα′, f. 250 : λβ′, f. 258 : λγ′, f. 266 : λδ′, f. 284 : λε′, f. 292 : λς′, la différence entre les ff. 266-284 sera expliquée par la suite). Une main moderne a rajouté un foliotage en chiffres arabes. L'écriture est très lisible et soignée ; les ligatures en as de pique sont fréquentes et de type courant, les signes diacritiques régulièrement notés et à quelques inconséquences près, les fautes d'iotacisme en nombre admissible. Dans la marge, il y a des corrections et d'autres signes (oies, ff. 231ᵛ, 239, 248ᵛ, 263, grenades, f. 266).

Les Ep. à initiale A s'étendent du début du f. 210 jusqu'à la fin du f. 222ᵛ. Les explications des mots, f. 213ᵛ, ἀποβουκολῶ = τὸ ἀπετῶ ....., f. 214ᵛ, ἀγαπώη = ῥῆμα εὐκτικῆς..... τὸ τρίτον ἀγα ... sont inachevées. Le lemme ἀπρόσιτος, f. 212, n'a pas d'explication tandis qu'au f. 218ᵛ se trouvent cinq lemmes à initiale B (βάσανος, βόσωρ, βλάβη, βλάσφημος, βρέτας) ; cependant le copiste a signalé dans la marge : ζητήματα εἰς τὴν βήτα. Avant ἀρχέτυπος, f. 221, il y a une ligne blanche.

La lettre B commence au début du f. 223ᵛ jusqu'aux deux tiers du f. 225. Après 9 lemmes du glossaire des canons, f. 225, se trouvent 17 lignes écrites par une deuxième main de même qu'une ligne à la fin du f. 224ᵛ. Le f. 225ᵛ est entièrement rédigé (39 lignes) par cette deuxième main.

La lettre Γ s'étend du f. 226 jusqu'au commencement (6 lignes) du f. 227ᵛ. Puis, après 4 lemmes du glossaire des canons, à la fin du f. 227ᵛ 30 lignes sont écrites par cette deuxième main.

La lettre Δ s'étend sur les ff. 228-230 (fin). Le f. 230ᵛ est entièrement écrit (35 lignes) par cette deuxième main.

La lettre E est comprise entre les ff. 231 et 238. A la fin du f. 238, nous rencontrons 9 lignes écrites par la deuxième main. Le f. 238ᵛ est blanc.

La lettre Z occupe les ff. 239-239ᵛ (les trois dernières sont blanches). La lettre H commence à la deuxième moitié du f. 240, précédée de 15 lignes de la deuxième main et se termine au f. 242 (à la fin duquel nous avons 10 lignes de la deuxième main). Le f. 242ᵛ est blanc.

La lettre Θ occupe les ff. 243-f. 244 (10 lignes du début). Le reste du f. 244 ainsi que le feuillet 244ᵛ sont blancs.

La lettre I se trouve entre les ff. 245-246 (14 lignes au début), la suite du f. 246 étant tronquée.

La lettre K couvre les ff. 247- 250ᵛ (deux tiers mais le reste est blanc). Le f. 251 contient 15 lignes écrites par la deuxième main et la suite est blanche.

La lettre Λ va du f. 251ᵛ au 254 (3 lignes et la suite est blanche). Au f. 253 après λύμην se trouve le lemme μαλάσσω alors que les lemmes de la lettre Λ se poursuivent ensuite avec λακωνίζειν.

La lettre M se trouve entre les ff. 254ᵛ et 257(dont les 4 lignes finales sont blanches). Le f. 257ᵛ est blanc.

La lettre N commence au f. 258 jusqu'au f. 259 (5 lignes). Puis il y a 11 lignes blanches et le feuillet est coupé.

Le feuillet 259ᵛ contient 9 lignes blanches, trois mots de la lettre Ξ et à la fin il est coupé.

La lettre O se trouve répartie entre les ff. 260-261ᵛ, à la fin du, f. 261ᵛ, restent 5 lignes blanches. Le f. 262 est blanc.

La lettre Π se trouve entre les ff. 262ᵛ-268 (15 lignes). La suite du f. 268 est coupée. Les explications des πᾶς, παντός, f. 263ᵛ, sont inachevées. Avant les lemmes ὄζω et après ὄμβρος, f. 260ᵛ, et πρόσχες, f. 267, il y a une ligne blanche.

La lettre P occupe le feuillet 269 et le début avec trois mots du f. 269ᵛ. La suite reste blanche.

La lettre Σ se trouve entre les ff. 270-273ᵛ. La lettre T commence au début du f. 284ᵛ et finit au f. 288 (les 15 premières lignes ; la suite est blanche). Entre les ff. 274-284 (le f. 284 est blanc) le copiste reprend tous les lemmes d'un glossaire grégorien, le plus ancien lexique sur les homélies de saint Grégoire de Nazianze ([29]).

Le f. 288ᵛ contient la lettre Y avec 5 lignes blanches à la fin. La lettre Φ se trouve répartie entre les ff. 289-290.

La seconde moitié du 290 jusqu'à la moitié du f. 291 est occupée par la lettre X. La lettre Ψ se trouve à la suite du f. 291.

Le feuillet 291ᵛ contient la lettre Ω. Les explications de : σκαίροντα f. 270ᵛ, συκοφαντία f. 272ᵛ, τελώνης f. 285 et φάτνη, f. 290, sont incomplètes.

(29) CRAMER, *Anecdota Oxon.*, II, pp. 475-487 et I. SAJDAK, *Anonymi Oxoniensis lexicon in orationes Gregorii Nazianzeni*, dans *Symbolae grammaticae in honorem I. Rozwadowski*, Cracovie, 1927, pp. 153-177 = K. LATTE - H. ERBSE, *Lexica graeca minora*, Hildesheim, 1965, pp. 166-190.

La description faite montre que le texte des Ep. est parfois interrompu par des feuilles blanches, des lacunes à la fin des lettres ou entre les lemmes, des lacunes dans des explications de lemmes et des fautes d'alphabétisation ([30]). Comment expliquer ces faits ? Deux hypothèses peuvent se formuler : soit le copiste n'aurait pas eu à portée de main les manuscrits qu'il devait ou voulait utiliser, ce qui explique les passages vides qu'il pensait compléter ultérieurement, soit qu'il y ait eu un désordre dans les feuillets de l'original et que son inattention serait à l'origine de ces vides et lacunes. Cette deuxième hypothèse ne peut expliquer les vides surtout à la fin des lettres de l'alphabet ou encore pourquoi l'ensemble des lemmes du glossaire sur les canons ne se trouvent pas en entier dans les Ep. A moins de supposer que la source du *Baroccianus* était un manuscrit amputé comme celui de l'édition de Montana ([31]).

En plus cette description amène à la conclusion suivante : les deux glossaires, celui des canons et celui de saint Grégoire, doivent être soit antérieurs soit contemporains des Ep. Nous basons nos conclusions sur la façon dont le copiste présente le texte du glossaire sur les canons dans le ms, en deux colonnes, alors que les Ep. sont en une colonne, et sur la manière différente de composer les explications. La disposition du texte fait penser qu'il copie les explications d'un modèle. En outre, la différence de longueur des lemmes, les répétitions et tous les problèmes relatifs à leur structure conduisent à l'hypothèse que les Ep. n'avaient pas encore atteint leur forme définitive. En effet, *Baroccianus Gr. 50,* d'une chronologie non sûre qui empêche de dire s'il est leur premier témoin ([32]), reste en même temps le brouillon et la version finale d'une œuvre unique et inachevée.

Jusqu'à ce point nous pouvons confirmer que le glossaire sur les canons (let. A-E) existe bien dans le *Baroccianus Gr. 50* et que ce manuscrit contient plus de lemmes que ceux que Cramer a édités, mêlés avec ceux des Epimérismes. Nous avons tenté d'expliquer le désordre des

(30) Les mêmes phénomènes se trouvent aussi dans le texte du glossaire τοῦ θεολόγου, ff. 275^{r-v}, 277, 280, 281^{r-v} et 283^{v} et dans Ἐκλογαί, ff. 294, 301^{v}, 303^{v}, 306, 307^{r-v}, 312, 311^{v}, 314, 315^{v} et 316.

(31) La présentation par F. Montana du texte de *Barocc. 50* est un peu «bizarre» : s'il n'a consulté que l'édition de Cramer, comment écrit-il que le lemme ἀφιγμένον se trouve dans le *Baroccianus* et, d'autre part, s'il a vu le ms, pourquoi ne mentionne-t-il pas les lemmes ἀχλύν, βατήν, βεβυσμένα que Cramer a omis ?

(32) «...il serait important de pouvoir dater précisément le *Baroccianus* 50...», J. SCHNEIDER, *op. cit.*, p. 456 n. 47.

textes de ce codex. Il faut parler de l'auteur du glossaire, de ses éditions et de ses rapports avec les plus anciens manuscrits.

Comme copiste une bonne partie des manuscrits d'origine italiote signale le nom de ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟΣ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ Ο ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ, dans un texte qui a la forme d'une lettre que l'écrivain attribue à ΙΩΑΝΝΗ ΤΩ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΕΣΤΑΤΩ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΩ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΩ ΑΔΕΛΦΩ où il explique entre autres les raisons qui l'ont mené à la composition de ce glossaire ([33]).

A. Kominis, se fondant sur la date des manuscrits, a été le premier à écrire que ce Théodose ne devait avoir aucun rapport avec son homonyme grammairien du 4e-5es., originaire d'Alexandrie ([34]), mais qu'il devait être un écrivain du IXe s. ([35]). De Andrés, après la collation de 12 manuscrits, attribue le lexique à Théodose, moine et grammairien, qui a vécu en Italie du sud et qui a fuit devant la prise de Syracuse par les Sarrasins (878), qu'il a d'ailleurs décrite dans une lettre ([36]). Sans aucun doute, ce Théodose est un écrivain de la deuxième moitié du IXe - début du Xe s. et a vécu une grande partie de sa vie en Sicile ([37]). Il est probablement l'auteur du glossaire mais pas au sens strict. Il pourrait plutôt être celui qui a trouvé certains mots des canons avec explications et les a complétés en rédigeant une œuvre indépendante. Théodose était le premier qui, de manière éponyme, a commencé une tâche que plusieurs autres ont continuée, en ajoutant des gloses et des mots aux explications, en révisant le texte des canons et les grands lexiques byzantins. «Les textes...n'appartiennent à personne, chaque copiste étant aussi rédacteur et auteur» ([38]).

Seule la collation des mss mentionnés peut proposer une solution au problème de savoir si le lexique a été composé entièrement dès le début ou si Théodose a ajouté des lemmes sur une ébauche déjà existante avant son intervention. Cette collation contribuerait aussi à la datation du lexique. La base de cette collation est constituée par le texte du *Baroccianus*. Mais nous devons d'abord passer en revue les problèmes posés par les éditions précédentes.

(33) Stefani, *Lessico*, p. 438, et Andrés, *Lexico*, pp. 380-382.

(34) Hunger, *Literatur*, II, p. 11.

(35) A. Kominis, *Gregorio Pardos Metropolita di Corinto e la sua opera (Testi e Studi Bizantino-neoellenici*, II), Rome-Athènes, 1960, p. 103.

(36) Pour les éditions et les traductions de cette lettre cfr Andrés, *Lexico*, pp. 382-383.

(37) Hunger, *Literatur*, I, pp. 359-360.

(38) Cfr à l' introduction de l'édition Nicétas Magistros, *Lettres d'un exilé (928-946)*, éd. L. G. Westerink, Paris, 1973, p. 9.

Premièrement dans l'édition de Cramer deux lemmes à initiale A, à savoir ἀφιγμένον = ἐληλυθότα et ἀχλύν = σκότος qui se trouvent, f. 222ᵛ, après ἀπήμαντον et avant αὖθις sont absents. Il manque aussi deux lemmes à l'initiale B : βατήν = βάσιμον et βεβυσμένα = βεβυθισμένα, qui se trouvent, f. 225, après βακχεύσασαν et avant βορῶν. L'édition de Cramer consiste en une simple copie du *Baroccianus*, qui garde les erreurs grammaticales (μισητής) à l'exception de : εχουσῶν (ἐχούσων Cramer) et de : οὐδεῖς (οὐδείς Cramer).

La publication la plus récente est celle de G. de Andrés, qui a présenté dans un article le texte de *Villamil 30*, x-xi s. ([39]), ms qui contient le texte sous forme de lettre, dont il a été question plus haut, ainsi que les acrostiches des canons avec leurs explications. De Andrés a étudié l'auteur Théodose et son œuvre et a réalisé une petite heuristique des mss, qu'il classe en deux catégories, ceux qui contiennent la lettre et ceux qui ne l'ont pas. F. Montana, en critiquant l'article de De Andrés, souligne que *Ambros. Gr. 384* ne contient pas le glossaire et que, les *Paris. Gr. 2661* et *2546* et le *Paris. Suppl. Gr. 1146* sont incertains ([40]). En realité, des trois mss, seul le *Paris. Gr. 2546*, xiv-xv s. ([41]), contient le glossaire sur les ff. 191-194, inc. ἀφεγγεῖς = μὴ ἔχων φέγγος ἢ φῶς, des. ὠλαίναις χερσὶν ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὑπάρχων οὐσίᾳ alors que *Paris. Gr. 2661*, an. 1365 ([42]), contiennent des explications comme celles qui sont éditées par Montana ([43]), sur les ff. 137-145ᵛ, inc. εὐεπίης = εὐλάλου, des. οὐσίαν = φύσιν, comme aussi *Paris. Suppl. Gr. 1146* ([44]), sur les ff. 2-34, inc. ἔσωσε = διέσωσε, des. δοξάζομεν = δοξολογοῦμεν.

Le *Villamil 30* est rédigé sur une colonne et porte des signes dans la marge : la lettre N (= 50) est tracée à côté des lemmes de Pentecôte, des titres entre les lettres de l'alphabet et d'autres signes marginaux (f. 307ᵛ,

(39) G. de Andrés, *Catalogo de los codices griegos de las colecciones : Complutense Lazaro Galdiano y March de Madrid*, dans *Cuadernos de filologia classica*, 6 (1974), pp. 231-239.

(40) Montana, *Lessico nel Laur.57.48.*, p. 195.

(41) H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale et des autres bibliothèques de Paris et des Départements*, Paris, 1888, III, p. 2.

(42) *Op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

(43) F. Montana, *Tre Parafrasi anonime bizantine del canone giambico pentecostale attribuito a Giovanni Damasceno*, dans *Koinonia*, 17, 1993, pp. 61-75.

(44) C. Astruc – L. Concasty, *Le Supplément Grec*, Paris, 1960, II, pp. 294-296.

309ᵛ). De Andrés ne fait qu'une transcription sans apparat critique, malgré le fait qu'il connaissait les autres éditions. Il met seulement entre crochets [ ] les lemmes ou les mots qu'il ajoute à l'édition de Bachmann, et un astérisque quand l'ordre des lemmes est perturbé. Il prévient qu'il a transcrit les ττ, σσ comme τγ ([45]) comme il.a aussi commis d'autres erreurs de lecture :

ἀνειμένων = ἀνεωγμένων .... And ([46]). : δ εὑρίσκηται, οἷον εἰ ἱερεῖον
M : ῖ εὑρίσκεται, οἷονεὶ ἱερεῖον
And. : διναῖς M : δίναις
ἐξ ἐρημέων = ... And. : γραίης M : γράψης
εὐεπίης = And. : εὐλάλους M : εὐλάλοις
ἐξοιστρημένου = And. : καρὰ τῷ οἴστρω :
M : παρὰ τῷ οἰστρῶ
καθειργνύς..... And. : ἔσαν M : ἔστιν δέ
κεκρύφει =..... And. : ἵνα ἡμεῖς τὸ ὑπὲρ συντελικοῦ
M : ἵνα ἦ μέσου ὑπερσυντελίκου
κευθμῶνας =..... And. : κεκείθμενον ἵνα εὖ παρὰ μετοχὴν
M : κεκευθμένον ἵνα ἦ παραμετοχήν
πρὸς πατρὸς =.... And. : ἀντὶ τῆς πατέρα γὰρ ἡ πρὸς
M : ἀντὶ τῆς παρὰ γὰρ ἡ πρὸς

Au lemme προμηθία, la phrase..... διατοῦ ῖ a été oubliée dans l'explication. De plus, De Andrés présente comme un seul mot le καταπαῦσαι au lemme ἀπαρκέσαι alors que le ms le note κατὰ παῦσαι. De même, à l'acrostiche de Pentecôte : And. : ἐπιχθονίοις M : ἐπὶ χθονίοις ([47]).

Par. Coisl. Gr. 345, du xᵉ s., est un ms très important parce qu'il est le plus ancien avec l'ensemble du texte, mais il y manque la lettre dédicatoire et les acrostiches analysés. L'édition rédigée par J. Bachmann, est difficile à présenter ([48]) : l'éditeur ne se limite pas à une simple transcription du texte du codex, mais il corrige des fautes d'orthographe et de grammaire, transformant ainsi le texte du lexique. En outre, le manuscrit porte des corrections du copiste lui-même mais aussi celles de plusieurs mains de correcteurs qui se distinguent par l'écriture et les différentes encres. Bachmann a édité seulement celles qu'il considère comme étant

(45) Andrés, *Lexico*, p. 385.
(46) Pour les abréviations cfr infra, p. 265.
(47) Andrés, *Lexico*, pp. 388-395.
(48) Cfr *supra* n. 6.

du copiste du *Coislianus*. Voici deux exemples caractéristiques : ποτνιᾶται = παρακαλεῖται dans l'explication duquel Bachmann complète ἤ νῦν τιμάζεται, δοξάζεται sans préciser que cette addition marginale est d'une autre main. Au contraire, Bachmann a écarté l'explication τέρπεται du lemme ἥδεται alors que les deux mots sont de la même main. Voici d'autres exemples de telles différences entre le ms et l'édition de Bachmann ([49]) :

Ba : ἀμείνω = κάλλιον C : καλλίονα
Ba : ἀπλατῆ C : ἀπλανῆ
Ba : ἀρρήτως = ἀλέκτως C : ἀρρήτω = ἀλέκτω
Ba : δηιῶσαι = ἐκβάλαι C : ἐκβαλεῖν
Ba : δῖναι C : δίναις
Ba post correctionem : θέσπις = θείως, ἀληθινῶς
C : θέσπιν = θεῖος, ἀληθινόν

Cette liste n'est pas exhaustive ; une telle opération dépasserait le cadre du présent article. Nous laissons aussi de côté les éditions De Stefani et F. Montana ([50]), fondées sur des manuscrits que nous n'avons pu compulser.

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La dernière partie de cette étude présente les résultats de la collation du texte de B avec celui de C, A et M, en ajoutant parfois aussi des remarques sur les éditions de Montana (= L(Mont.)), Andrés (= And.) et Bachmann (= Ba.). Outre le texte-même du lexique, il est intéressant d'insister autant sur l'ordre des gloses que sur leur nombre.

Ainsi, les gloses à initiale A sont au nombre de 44 dans les mss B et A, de 43 dans C, de 41 dans L(Mont.) et de 49 dans M. Pour la lettre B tous les mss possèdent 9 lemmes sauf 7 L(Mont.), pour la lettre Γ 4 sauf 3 L(Mont.) et le texte du ms finit, pour la lettre Δ le B en a 12, les C et A 13 et le M 15 et finalement pour la lettre E le B en a 3, le C 26, A 27 et le M 29. En jugeant du nombre, le B se trouve plus proche du C ; les M et A représentent une version enrichie ; le L(Mont.), au contraire, s'appauvrit graduellement jusqu' à la lettre Γ et B à la lettre E.

(49) *Ibid.*

(50) Nous sous-entendons l'édition STEFANI, *Fonti Et.Gudiano* et non celle STEFANI, *Lessico* parce que nous avons pu examiner le ms *Rom. Angel. Gr.* 7 (B.5.11).

L'ordre des gloses communes est rarement pertrubé d'un ms à l'autre. A la lettre A, seul le B donne le ἀνειμένων avant αἴσχους alors que les C, M et A le donne après. Dans un autre cas, le B avec les M et A donnent le ἀφύκτοις après ἀπλανῆ alors que le C le donne à l'avant-dernière place de la lettre A. Le dernier lemme à initiale A α ὐ λ έ κ τ ω ρ , de B, ne se trouve dans aucun autre ms, ce que nous pouvons expliquer comme un emprunt fait aux Ep. puisque c'est un lemme homérique. Les lettres B, Γ et E ne présentent aucun problème. Pour la lettre Δ seule dans le ms B l'acolouthie à la fin est :

B : Δόμον, δυσκάθαρτον, δυσκάθεκτον
C : δόμον, δυσκάθεκτον, δυσκάθαρτον
MA : δυσκάθεκτον, δυσκάθαρτον, δόμον

Pour les gloses elles–mêmes, les M et A présentent des divergences dans les déclinaisons, le genre, ainsi que des additions :

25 BC : ἁγιστία (εία C) MA : ἁγιστίας
34 BC : ἀπεχθής MAL(Mont.) : ἀπεχθοῦς
35 BC : ἀπλανῆ MA : ἀπλανῆ τρίβον
38 BCA : ἀτρεκέστατος M : ἀτρεκέστατον
50 BCM : βάσει = στηρίγματι A : στήριγμα

L'étude des explications des gloses prouve que celles de B et C sont plus courtes, alors que le M et parfois le A en donnent de plus longues :

60 MA : Δορικτήτους δὲ = Μετὰ δόρατος κτηθέντας δόρυ γὰρ ἡ αἰχμὴ τοὐτέστιν τὸ ξίφος	BC : Δορικτήτους δὲ = Μετὰ δόρατος κτηθέντας
68 MA : Δυσκάθαρτον = ἀκάθαρτον ἀντὶ τοῦ ᾶ τὸ δῦσ μόριον MA	BC : Δυσκάθαρτον = ἀκάθαρτον
61 M : Διῶσαι = ἐκβαλεῖν ἐν ἄλλῳ τὸ διῶσαι ἀνελεῖν φονεῦσαι εὗρον	BC : διῶσαι = ἐκβαλεῖν A : ἐκβάλαι
22 MA : Ἀνειμένων = ἀνεωγμένων εἰ καὶ διὰ τοῦ ο ἔστι δ'ὅτε καὶ διὰ τοῦ ῑ εὑρίσκεται, οἱονεὶ + ἱερεῖον +	BC : Ἀνειμένων = ἀνεωγμένων

Pourtant :

66 BC : Δεδορκότες = ὁρῶντες, ἰδόντες	Δεδορκότες = M : ὁρῶντες A : M : ἰδόντες
5 C : Ἀφιγμένον = ἐληλυθότα, περιγενόμενον	BMA : Ἀφιγμένον = ἐληλυθότα
53BC : Βροτησίων = βροτείων λόγων	MA : Βροτησίων = βροτείων

L'étude du texte du glossaire ainsi que celles du nombre et de l'ordre des lemmes montrent que chaque ms a des caractéristiques propres, et qu'il n'a été le modèle d'aucun autre ms connu.

Dans peu de cas le B comporte des erreurs qui lui sont propres et qui ne se trouvent nulle part dans la tradition manuscrite ; il ne contient pas le lemme διαμπὰξ, et il présente quelques fautes d'orthographe : τράχιλον, δεικτύων, ainsi que des erreurs dans l'explication comme : ἀστροπολοῦντας = ἀστεροσκοποῦντας au lieu de B : ἀστέρας σκοπείστας. Lorsqu' il est d'accord avec les autres (comme dans le cas de ἀφύκτοις), c'est probablement dû au fait qu'ils dérivent d'une même source unique. La même remarque vaut à propos du C et du M :

11 BM : ἀγραυλοῦντες = ἐν ἀγρῷ οἰκοῦντες C : αὐλοῦντες
14 BM : ἀγριωπόν = ἀγριόφθαλμον C : ἀγριοπρόσωπον
5 BM : ἀφιγμένον = ἐληλυθότα C add. : περιγενόμενον

Il existe une parenté entre les mss B et C, comme c'est le cas aussi pour les M et A :

58 BC : διαρτίας = πλάσεως MA : διαπλάσεως
63 BC : δίναις = τὰ κοιλώματα MA : τοῖς κοιλώμασι

En somme, plusieurs indices mènent à la conclusion selon laquelle le texte des quatre mss reflète le contenu d'un seul et même ancêtre qui doit avoir été rédigé par un auteur, probablement Théodose. Tous les mss ont rigoureusement respecté cet ancêtre. Pour un texte aussi restreint, même si les mss sont assez proches de l'époque de l'auteur du glossaire, ils transmettent un texte transformé et ils doivent être utilisés avec circonspection (51). Les rapports entre les textes de B et de C sont assez

(51) D. Kalamakis aboutit aux mêmes résultats pour un autre glossaire, cfr D. Kalamakis, *Glossaire de la vita de S. Elie le jeune accompagné d'un vocabulaire non-identifié*, dans *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 80 (1985-1989), pp. 279-291.

suivis. De toute évidence, B et C sont parents, et même proches parents. Ils transmettent un texte beaucoup plus court : la matière de M et de A est plus volumineuse. Par conséquent, les lectures de B + C doivent être sérieusement prises en considération lors de l'établissement de l'édition critique du glossaire. Il est probable que le C, le M et le A soient des produits d'une récapitulation du texte du glossaire : ils enrichissent les gloses en révisant le texte des canons (d'où le plus grand nombre de lemmes ; cfr à l'édition qui suit les lemmes 7a, 7b, 25a, 25b, 43a) et les explications en révisant les grands lexiques (d'où les explications enrichies).

Telles sont les conclusions que l'on peut tirer de la comparaison des 72 premières gloses des quatre mss étudiés. Il convient encore de souligner que le *Baroccianus Gr. 50* s'avère un manuscrit utile pour l'histoire du texte du glossaire sur les canons. Tout d'abord, par sa proximité chronologique à l'époque de sa rédaction et ensuite, s'il provient bien de l'Italie du Sud, du fait que sa copie a été rédigée sur les lieux mêmes de la production du texte, ce qui nous permet de dire que ses sources doivent être réellement bonnes.

Le texte du *Baroccianus Gr. 50* doit aussi être utilisé comme terminus ante quem tandis que le glossaire, pour les lettres A à Δ, est sûrement antérieur à ce ms, qui à cette époque était déjà formé, le nombre et l'ordre des lemmes définitifs et que le texte des explications était bref. Nous pouvons aussi affirmer que le *Baroccianus* n'a été le modèle d'aucun des mss connus. Sans avoir étudié toutes les sources du glossaire nous pouvons être sûrs que les mss B et C ont utilisé le lexique de Hésychius comme le prouve les lemmes 5, 9, 10, 23, 62 et 65 et le même pour le ms M pour les lemmes 7a et 43a. Enfin l'introduction des lemmes dans les Ep. montre la manière dont de telles œuvres étaient rédigées ainsi que les intérêts littéraires et culturels de l'époque.

A l'apparat critique de l'édition qui suit tirés des lectures des mss B, C, A et M et des éditions De Andrés (= And.) et Bachmann (= Ba.), nous ajoutons parfois des divergeances dans les mots des canons des éditions Nauck et Christ-Paranikas et de la Patrologie pour souligner le besoin d'une édition critique de ces canons.

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1. CODICUM SIGLA

A = *Angelicus Gr.* 7(B.5.11) saec.XIV.
B = *Baroccianus Gr.* 50, saec.IX-X.
C = *Parisinus Coislinianus Gr.* 345, saec.X.
M = *Matritensis, Bibl. Univ.* Z-22, No116 (E.1.N.61) = Villamil.n.30, saec.X-XI.
L(Mont.) = textus codicis *Laurentianus Gr.* 57.48, saec. XV secundum editionem F. MONTANA, *L'inizio del lessico di Teodosio grammatico ai canoni liturgici nel Laur.57.48*, dans *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione classica,* 123 (1995), pp. 193-200.

2. EDITIONUM

And. = lexicon apud editionem G. de ANDRÉS, *Carta de Teodosio el gramatico (IX s.) sobre el lexico de los canones de san Juan Damasceno, segun el codice complutense «Villamil No 30»*, dans *Emerita,* 41 (1973), pp. 388-395.
Ba. = lexicon apud editionem L. BACHMANN, *Anecdota Graeca,* I, Leipzig, 1828, pp. 450-459.
Christ-Para = W. CHRIST – M. PARANIKAS, *Anthologia Graeca carminum Christianorum,* Lipsiae 1871, rééd. Hildesheim, 1963.
Cosm. = textus canonum Cosmae Hierosolymitani, apud editionem Christ-Para, pp. 165-173.
II (In Theogoniam), pp. 165-169
III (In Theophania), pp. 169-173.
Cram. = lexicon apud editionem J. A. CRAMER, *Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis bibliothecarum Oxoniensium*, Oxford, 1835(rééd. Amsterdam, 1963), II, pp. 473-475.
Dam. = textus canonum S. Ioannis Damasceni, apud editionem Nauck.
I (In Theogoniam), pp. 199-204.
II (In Theophania), pp. 205-210.
III (In Pentecosten), pp. 210-215.
HesL = Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon, ed. K. LATTE, Copenhague, I : (A-Δ), 1953 ; II : (E-O), 1966.
Nauck = A. NAUCK, *Iohannis Damasceni canones iambici cum commentario et indice verborum ex schedis Augusti Nauck editi,* publié à l'aide de P. NIKITIN dans *Mélanges gréco-romains* tirés du *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St-Pétersbourg,* 6 (1893), pp. 199-224.
PG = textus canonum S. Ioannis Damasceni, apud *Patrologia cursus completus ...series Graeca....*accurante J.-P. MIGNE, t. 96, col. 817c-840a :

I (In Theogoniam), col. 817c-825a,
II (In Theophania), col. 825a-832b,
III (In Pentecosten), col. 832c-840a.

Lexicon apud *Baroccianus Gr. 50*.
Titulus : Λεξικὸν τῶν κανόνων

Dam.	I, 121 f.222^{v}		ἀ φ ε γ γ ε ῖ ς : μὴ ἔχοντας φέγγος ἢ φῶς
Cosm.	II, 88		ἀ π ε γ ρ ά φ η ς : ἠριθμήθης
	II, 20		ἀ π α ύ γ α σ μ α : ἀκτὶς ἡλίου
	II, 105		ἀ π ή μ α ν τ ο ν : ἀβλαβῆ πῆμα γὰρ ἡ βλάβη
Dam.	I, 45	5	ἀ φ ι γ μ έ ν ο ν : ἐληλυθότα
	II, 84		ἀ χ λ ύ ν : σκότος
	I, 75 et II, 2,28,73		α ὖ θ ι ς : πάλιν
	II, 8		α ὐ χ έ ν α : τράχηλον
	I, 92		ἀ ῤ ῥ ή τ ω ς : ἀλέκτως
Cosm.	II, 33	10	ἀ μ ε ί ν ω : καλλίων
	II, 126		ἀ γ ρ α υ λ ο ῦ ν τ ε ς : ἐν ἀγρῷ οἰκοῦντες
	II, 173		ἀ σ τ ρ ο π ο λ ο ῦ ν τ α ς : ἀστέρας + σκοπείστας+
Dam.	I, 69		α ὐ δ ῶ : προσφωνῶ
	I, 96		ἀ γ ρ ι ω π ό ν : ἀγριόφθαλμον
	I, 67	15	ἀ π α ρ κ έ σ α ι : καταπαῦσαι
	I, 82 et II, 48		ἄ π λ η τ α : μέγα, πολύ ἐπιρρηματικῶς δὲ

Tit. in C λέξεις ἐγκείμεναι τοῖς κανόσι κατὰ στοιχεῖον· τῆς γεννήσεως, τῶν φώτων καὶ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς **1** ἔχοντες Ba. : μὴ ἔχον φῶς L(Mont.) // **4** gl.4 post gl.5 transp. L (Mont.) // **5** gl. om. Cram. – post ἐληλυθότα in marg. add. περιγενόμενον C (cfr HesL α 8681-2) // **6** gl. om. Cram. – ἀχλύς A – ἀορασία ante σκότος add. A // **7** gl. om. A – post gl.7 add. gl.7a ἀλεξίκακος = ἀποτρεπτικός τῶν κακῶν M (cfr HesL α 2875) qui in text. Dam. deest – post gl.7a add. gl.7b ἄνα (Dam. I acr.) = ἄναξ, βασιλεῦ(-εύς A) MA – post gl.7b add. gl.7c ἀχράντοιο (-οις A) (Dam. II acr.) = ἀχράντου MA post gl.7c add. gl.7d ἀμπλακίην (Dam. II acr.) = ἁμαρτίαν MA // **9** gl. habent soli CB = HesL α 7441 – ἀῤῥήτω C : ἀῤῥήτως Ba. – ἀλέκτω C : ἀλέκτως Ba. // **10** ἀμείνων L(Mont) – καλλίων BL(Mont.) : κάλλιον C = HesL α 3552 : καλλίονος MA : καλλιονα Ba. // **11** gl. om. L (Mont.) – οἰκοῦντες om. C – post ἀγρῷ add. αὐλοῦντες C // **12** gl. om L(Mont.) pro explic. ἀστεροσκοποῦντας MC ἀγραυλοῦντες = ἀστεροσκοποῦντες A (= gl.11 + gl.12) // **13** προσαυδῶ Nauck, Christ-Para, PG // **14** pro explic. ἀγριοπρόσωπον C – gl.14 post gl.12 transp. L (Mont.) // **16** gl. om. L (Mont.) – ἅπλετα C – pro explic ἐπιρρηματικῶς C : -τικόν Ba. – pro explic. μεγάλως, πολλωστῶς M : μεγάλα, πολλά A //

Dam.	I, 84		ἄ σ π ε τ ο ν : πολύ, ἄφθονον
	I, 91		ἀ ρ ω γ έ : βοηθέ, λυτρωτά
	I, 112		ἀ ν θ ο π ο ι ό ν : ἄνθη ἐκφέρουσαν
	II, 58	20	ἀ μ φ ώ μ ο ι σ ι ν : ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς ὤμοις
	II, 56		ἀ θ ρ ῶ ν : θεωρῶν
	II, 76		ἀ ν ε ι μ έ ν ω ν : ἀνεωγμένων
	II, 60		α ἴ σ χ ο υ ς : ἁμαρτίας
	II, 63 et III,38		ἀ κ η ρ ά τ ο υ : ἀφθάρτου
	II, 107 f. 223	25	ἁ γ ι σ τ ί α : ἁγιοσύνη/
	II, 107		α ἰ γ λ ῆ ν τ α : ἀστράπτοντα
	II, 95		ἀ μ ε ί ν ο ν α : βελτίονα
	I, 56		ἀ π η ν έ ς : σκληρόν
	II, 64		ἄ ν τ λ η μ α : ὕδωρ
	I, 99	30	ἀ ρ κ ύ ω ν : δικτύων
	I, 69		ἀ ν α ι ρ έ τ η ν : λυτρωτήν
	I, 40		ἀ ν η λ ί ω ν : σκοτεινῶν, μὴ ἐχουσῶν ἥλιον
			ἀ ν τ ω θ ο υ μ έ ν η : βαρουμένη
	III, 74		ἀ π ε χ θ ή ς : μισητῆς
	II, 53	35	ἀ π λ α ν ῆ : εὐθεῖαν
	II, 57		ἀ φ ύ κ τ ο ι ς : ἃς οὐδεὶς δύναται φυγεῖν
	I, 97		ἄ σ ε μ ν α : ἀπρεπῆ
	III, 11		ἀ τ ρ ε κ έ σ τ α τ ο ς : ἀληθέστατος
	III, 21		ἄ λ η π τ ο ς : ἀκράτητος

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17 ἄφθονον om. L (Mont.) //**18** ἀρωγός = βοηθός L (Mont.) // **19** ἐκφέρουσα L (Mont.) // **20** gl. om. L (Mont.) // **21** post θεωρῶν add. βλέπων CML (Mont.) // **22** post ἀνεωγμένων add. εἰ (ἢ A) καὶ διὰ τοῦ ο ἔστι δ΄ὅτε καὶ διὰ τοῦ ῑ εὑρίσκεται, οἱονεὶ + ἱερεῖον + MA : διὰ τοῦ δ εὑρίσκηται, οἷον εἰ ἱερεῖον And. – gl. 22 post gl. 29 transp. L (Mont.) // **23** pro explic. ἁμαρτίας, αἰσχύνης, ὀνειδισμοῦ C (cfr HesL α 2150) - pro explic. ἁμαρτήματος MA – gl.23 ante gl.22 transp. MCA - post gl.25 add. gl.25a ἁρμονίας = εὐπρεπείας L (Mont.) – post gl.25a add. gl.25b ἄληκτον = ἀκατάπαυστον L (Mont.) // **25** ἁγιστία L (Mont.) : ἁγιστεία C : ἁγιστίας MA – ἁγιωσύνας A : ἁγιωσύνη L (Mont.) : ἁγιωσύνης M // **29** pro explic. ἀντλητήριον ὕδατος πλῆρες MA - gl.29 post gl.30 transp. A – post gl.29 add. gl.29a ἄρδην = παντελῶς M // **31** ἀνηρέτην MA // **32** ἐχουσῶν in lac. L (Mont.) ordo explicationum invertitur in MA // **33** ἀνθελκομένη ante βαρουμένη add. M - pro explic. ἀνελκουμένη, βαρυνομένη A // **34** ἀπεχθής BC : ἀπεχθοῦς MAL (Mont.) μισητούς A // **35** ἁπλατῆ Ba. – post ἁπλανῆ add. τρίβον MA – post εὐθεῖαν add. ὁδόν MA – post gl.35 add. gl.35a ἀπορεῖ = ἀδημονεῖ, ἀγωνιᾶ A //**36** ἀφεύκτοις CML (Mont.):φευτέους A – ἅ C : οὓς A – διαφυγεῖν L (Mont.) – gl.3 6 post gl. 42 transp. C // **37** ἀσέμνῳ = ἀπρε[π L (Mont.) // **38** in marg. N (= 50) M (cfr in introd.) – ἀτρεκέστατον M : ἀτρεκέστατα L (Mont.) – ἀληθέστατον M : ἀληθέστατα L (Mont.) // **39** in marg. N (= 50) M(cfr in introd.) – ἀκράτιστος L (Mont.) //

	III, 23	40	ἄ λ ι ς : ἀρκοῦντα
	III, 121		ἄ ν α σ σ α : βασίλισσα
	III, 128		ἀ λ θ α ί ν ο ν τ α : ἰώμενον
	III, 107		″ Α π α τ ρ α κ ο υ σ τ ή ς : ἅ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μὴ ἐκστὰς
Hom.	*θ*, 1-2		ἀ λ έ κ τ ω ρ : πολυόχευτον γὰρ τὸ ζῶον τῆς α φωνῆς τὸ πολὺ δηλούσης : οἱ δὲ ὅτι ἐκ τῶν λέκτρων ἡμᾶς ἐγείρει. "ἦμος δ' ἠριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς, ὄρνυτ' ἄρ' ἐξ εὐνῆς ἱερὸν μένος Ἀλκινόοιο"
Dam.	I, 8 f. 225	45	β ρ ο τ η σ ί ᾳ : τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ οὐσίᾳ
	I, 97		β α κ χ ε ύ σ α σ α ν : ὀρχουμένην, πλανηθεῖσαν, ἐξεστηκυῖαν
	I, 3		β α τ ή ν : βάσιμον
	I, 41		β ε β υ σ μ έ ν α : βεβυθισμένα
	II, 17		β ο ρ ῶ ν : στομάτων
	I, 20	50	β ά σ ε ι : στηρίγματι
	II, 16		β ρ ό χ ω ν : ἀγχονῶν, δεσμῶν
	III, 82		β ρ έ τ α ς : εἴδωλον
	III, 106		β ρ ο τ η σ ί ω ν : βροτείων λόγων
	I, 110 f. 227^{v}		γ ε γ ῶ σ α : γεγονυῖα
	II, 33	55	γ ῆ ρ υ ν : φωνήν
	II, 9		γ ε ν ά ρ χ η ν : τὸν τοῦ γένους ἀρχηγόν
	III, 5		γ ε ρ α ί ρ ω ν : δοξάζων

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40 in marg. N (= 50) M(cfr in introd.) – pro explic. ἀρκούντως CL (Mont.) : λίαν ἀρκοῦντας M : λίαν ἀρκοῦντος A // **41** in marg. N (= 50) M(cfr in introd.) // **42** in marg. N (= 50) M(cfr in introd.) – explic. om. C // **43** in marg. N (= 50) M (cfr in introd.) ἃ πατρακουστί L (Mont.) : ἃ πατρακουσθείς Christ-Para : ἃ πατρακουστὴς Nauck – pro explic. ἃ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἤκουσεν C – pro explic. ἃ παρὰ τοῦ L (Mont.) – pro explic. ἃ ὁ πατρακουστὴς Ἰησοῦς, δῆλον ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἤκουσεν ἔφη MA – post gl. 43 add. gl. 43a ἄλιον = μάταιον, ἄπρακτον M (cfr HesL α 3027-8) // **44** gl. habet solus B // Titulus : ἀρχὴ τοῦ β C // **45** ἀνθρωπίνῳ M // **46** βακχεύουσαν CL (Mont.) – ἐξεστηκυῖαν om. L (Mont.) : ἐπεστηκυῖαν M (ἐξεσ-And.) // **47** gl. om. L(Mont.) Cram. // **48** gl. om. Cram. // **50** στήριγμα A – gl. om. L (Mont.) // **51** βρόχ L (Mont.) ἀγχόνων BAC (-νῶν Ba.) explic. om. L (Mont.) // **52** in marg. N (= 50) M(cfr in introd.) // **53** in marg N (= 50) M (cfr in introd.) – βροτοσσόον = βρότειον λόγον L (Mont.) – βροτοσσόων AC – λόγων om. MA // titulus : ἀρχὴ τοῦ γ C // **54** explic. om. L (Mont.) // **56** pro explic. τόν τοῦ γένους ἀρχηγόν (ἄρχοντα MA) – τόν (om. C) – Ἀδάμ CMA – pro explic. τόν Ἀδάμ τοῦ γένους ἀρχηγόν L (Mont.) – usque ad finem glossarii deficit L (Mont.) (cfr in introd.)

Cosm.	II, 40 f. 230		διαρτίας : πλάσεως δορύκλυτον : ἔνδοξον μετὰ δόρατος
	II, 153	60	δορυκτήτους δέ : μετὰ δόρατος κτηθέντας
Dam.	II, 37		διῶσαι : ἐκβάλαι
	II, 57		διαρθροῖ : διαπλάττει
	II, 59		δίναις : τὰ κοιλώματα τῶν ὑδάτων
	I, 104		δρῶσα : ποιοῦσα
	I, 124	65	δοξούμενοι : κατοπτριζόμενοι
	I, 122		δεδορκότες : ὁρῶντες, ἰδόντες
	III, 63		δόμον : οἶκον
	II, 84		δυσκάθαρτον : ἀκάθαρτον
	III, 17		δυσκάθεκτον : δυσκράτητον
Cosm.	II, 10 f. 236	70	ἐπταικότα : πταίσαντα
	II, 32		ἐπιπνοίας : ἐπιπνεύσεως
	II, 40		εὐτελοῦς : ταπεινῆς

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titulus : ἀρχὴ τοῦ δ (in marg.) C // 58 in marg. N (= 50) M (cfr in introd.) – pro explic. διαπλάσεως MA // **59** δορικλυτόν (in appar. crit. δορίκλυτον) Ba. : δορύκλητον A // **60** δορικτήτους scripsi ? : δορυκτήτους codd. : δορικτήτης C : δορικτήτου (in appar. crit. δορικτήτης) Ba. – ἐκτισθέντος C : κτηθέντος (in appar. crit. κτισθέντος) Ba. δόρυ γὰρ ἡ αἰχμή· τοῦτέστιν τὸ ξίφος add. MA – post gl. 60 add. gl. 60α διαμπάξ = διόλου CMA // **61** διῶσαι codd. pro metrum : δηιῶσαι C : διῶξαι PG – pro explic. ἐκβαλεῖν ἐν ἄλλῳ τό διῶσαι ἀνελεῖν φονεῦσαι εὗρον M // **62** διαπλάττει codd. et var. lect. apud ed. : διαπλάτεγει And. – post gl. 62 add. gl. 62a διεξοδικῶς = πλατέως M (cfr HesL δ 1610) // **63** δινᾶις And. : δῖναι Ba. – τοῖς κοιλώμασι MA // **65** post gl. 65 add. gl. 65a δεδεγμένως (Dam. II,13) = περιμένων M (cfr HesL δ 363) // **66** ὁρῶντες om. M // **67** in marg. N (= 50) M(cfr in introd.) – gl. 67 ante gl. 69 transp. CA // **68** post ἀκάθαρτον add. ἀντὶ τοῦ ᾶ γὰρ(ἄγαν A) τὸ δυσ- μόριον – MA gl. 68 post gl. 69 transp. C // titulus : ἀρχὴ τοῦ ε in marg. C.

NOTE

WER ERBAUTE MERMER-KULE ? (*)

Die Anlage um Mermer-Kule am Zusammentreffen der Seemauer mit der Theodosianischen Landmauer Konstantinopels wurde in der früheren Literatur öfter erwähnt (1). Doch erst in den letzten Jahren fand sie durch Peschlow wieder besondere Aufmerksamkeit (2). Sie besteht in ihrer heute erhaltenen Form aus einem mächtigen Turm, Mermer-Kule, einem weiter nördlich gelegenen kleinen Turm sowie einer Kurtine, die diese beiden Türme an der Ostseite verbindet. Aus der Nordwestecke von Mermer-Kule ragt ein Mauerabschnitt nach Norden vor und knickt nach Westen um, wo er abbricht. Wahrscheinlich erstreckte sich zwischen beiden Türmen ein sich nach Westen hin verbreiterndes Areal. Aufgrund eines Mauerrestes, der sich ca. 2 Meter nördlich des Zuganges zu Turm 2 der Landmauer an der Stadtseite befindet, nahm Peschlow an, daß diese Stelle wahrscheinlich den Westabschluß des Areals bildete (3). Im heute erhaltenen Hof, der zwischen Mermer-Kule und Nordturm liegt, befinden sich drei

(*) Ich danke Prof. Dr. Paul Speck (Berlin) und Dr. Fotini Kolovu (Berlin) für verschiedene Hinweise und Hilfe bei der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Gedicht von Johannes Chortasmenos.

(1) Als Beispiele seien hier erwähnt : A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople. The Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites*, London, 1899, S. 266 ; C. Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, Berlin, 1912, S. 91ff ; F. Dirimtekin, *Fetihten Önce Marmara Surları*, Istanbul 1953, S. 50.

(2) U. Peschlow, *Mermerkule - Ein Spätbyzantinischer Palast in Konstantinopel. Studien zur byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte. Festschrift für Horst Hallensleben zum 65. Geburtstag (hrsg. B. Borkopp, B. Schellewald, L. Theis)*, Amsterdam, 1995, S. 93-97 ; im folgenden als „Peschlow, *Mermerkule*" zitiert ; U. Peschlow, *Die befestigte Rezidenz von Mermerkule. Beobachtungen an einem spätbyzantinischen Bau im Verteidigungssystem Konstantinopels*, *JÖB* 51 (2001), S. 385-401 ; im folgenden als „Peschlow, *Rezidenz*" zitiert.

(3) Peschlow, *Rezidenz*, S. 293-294.

nachträglich errichtete Zisternen ; eine weitere Zisterne ist im Nordturm untergebracht. Der größere Turm der Anlage, Mermer-Kule, wurde außen bis zur zweiten Gesimsreihe aus Marmor-Spolien errichtet, wovon er seinen türkischen Namen erhielt.

An verschiedenen Stellen der Hofwände laufen Gesimsbänder um, die Peschlow gründlich beschrieben hat. Neben den während der jüngsten Restaurationsarbeiten neu gefertigten Teilen sind es hauptsächlich Gesimsstücke mit schrägen Vorderseiten, die mit Lotus-Palmetten-Reihen bzw. Lotus-Wellenranken und Palmetten dekoriert sind. Aufgrund ihrer übereinstimmenden Formen, Dimensionen und Ornamente schlug Peschlow vor, daß sie möglicherweise zu einer Kreuzkuppelkirche gehörten, die ins 11/12. Jh. datiert werden kann (4). Daneben befinden sich glatte Gesimse, die nach der Restauration beibehalten worden sind. Sowohl das Aussehen der ganzen Anlage, als auch die im Hof befindlichen Zisternen unterscheiden diese von den üblichen Türmen der Stadtmauern und weisen darauf hin, daß man es hier mit einer Residenz zu tun hat, wie schon Peschlow vermutete. Andererseits betonen die Zinnen, die Wehrgänge und die Schiessscharten den fortifikatorischen Charakter der Anlage.

Während die erwähnten Gesimsstücke mit vergleichbaren Ornamenten geschmückt sind oder keinerlei Schmuck aufweisen, befindet sich an der Westwand der oberen Nische, die in der von der Nordwestecke des Turmes ausgehenden Wand plaziert ist, ein Gesimsstück, das sich im Dekor von den übrigen unterscheidet. Auf diesem Gesimsstück sind verschiedene Medaillons angebracht. Im mittleren Medallion tritt ein Palaiologenmonogramm in Erscheinung, in zwei weiteren Medaillons kommt je ein Doppelhasten-Zeichen vor, das möglicherweise zur Kantakuzenenfamile gehörte (5). Die beiden letzteren befinden sich an den Enden des Gesimses, wo das Stück an der linken Seite abgebrochen und an der rechten Seite abgeschnitten ist. Beide Doppelhasten-Zeichen sind also heute nur fragmentarisch erhalten. Neben diesen Kanten wurden die Anschlüsse durch glatte Gesimsstücke ergänzt. Nach Peschlow befinden sich diese Gesimsstücke, bis auf die Flickstelle an der rechten Seite, in situ und seien hier bewußt plaziert worden. Wegen der unbezweifelbaren palaiologenzeitlichen Datierung hielt es Peschlow für ausgeschlossen, daß es sich bei diesem Stück um eine Spolie handeln könnte, zumal wir von keinem Ereignis wissen, während dessen palaiologische Bauten zerstört und Teile davon als Spolien wiederverwendet wurden. Dabei blieben aber die Erdbeben unberücksichtigt, die auch in der Palaiologischen Zeit die Hauptstadt heimgesucht haben, z.B. im Jahre 1344/45, wodurch Teile der Hagia Sophia zusammenstürzten (6). Weitere

(4) PESCHLOW, *Rezidenz*, S. 390.

(5) Siehe dazu PESCHLOW, *Mermerkule*, S. 95.

(6) Siehe Rowland J. MAINSTONE, *Hagia Sophia. Architecture, Structure and Liturgy of Justinian's Great Church*, London, 1988, S. 94.

Erdbeben ereigneten sich in Konstantinopel in den Jahren 1354, 1402 und 1437 (7).

Aufgrund des Palaiologenmonogramms und der Kantakuzenensiglen nahm Peschlow zu Recht an, daß dieses Stück zu einem Gebäude gehören muß, das durch einen Sproß beider Familien errichtet worden war. Diese Person vermutete er in Theodoros Palaiologos Kantakuzenos, Onkel des Kaisers Manuel II. Palaiologos (8). Diese Identifizierung schien eine ideale Lösung zu bieten, da in einem Gedicht des Johannes Chortasmenos von einem Palast die Rede ist, den der Genannte im Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts in der Nähe des Meeres errichtet hatte (9). Tatsächlich scheinen das Gedicht und das in Mermer-Kule befindliche Gesimsstück einander optimal zu ergänzen, wobei die folgenden Fragen zunächst offen bleiben.

1.) Warum hat der Erbauer an seinem Palast für das Gesims überwiegend Spolien verwendet, aber an einer unrepräsentativen Stelle des Baues ein Gesimsstück mit seinen Familienzeichnen angebracht ? Diese Frage stellte auch Peschlow.

Wie oben vermerkt, schließen unmittelbar neben den Schnittstellen des Gesimses weitere Stücke ohne Dekor an. Die Art der Einfügung der Anschlußstücke legt die Vermutung nahe, daß es sich bei dem Monogrammblock um eine Spolie handelt.

2.) Eine weitere Frage lautet, ob Chortasmenos in seinem Gedicht über den Palast des Theodoros Palaiologos Kantakuzenos wirklich Mermer-Kule gemeint hat ? Ich würde daran zweifeln, da die ersten Zeilen des Gedichts über den Palast folgenderweise lauten :

.....
θεῖος γάρ ἐστι πρὸς μητρὸς Βασιλέως,
κλεινοῦ Μανουήλ, αὐτοκράτορος θείου
Παλαιολόγου, θεοστεθοῦς αὐγούστου,
τοῦ τὴν ἀρίστην Βασιλείαν Ῥωμαίων
σοφῶς ἐντέχνως εὐσεβῶς διοικοῦντος,
καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν οἰκίαν ἐδείματο,

(7) Für die Erdbeben allgemein siehe G. Downey, *Earthquakes at Constantinople and Vicinty, A.D. 342-1454, Speculum* 30 (1955), S. 596-600 ; auch P. Wirth, *Zur byzantinischen Erdbebenliste, Byzantinische Forschungen*, I (1966), S. 393-399.

(8) Peschlow, *Mermerkule*, S. 97 ; Peschlow, *Residenz*, S. 385 ; siehe auch H. Hunger, *Johannes Chortasmenos (ca. 1370-ca. 1436/37), Briefe, Gedichte und kleine Schriften. Einleitung, Regesten, Prosopographie, Text*, WBS, 7, Wien 1969, S. 38-40 ; im folgenden als „Hunger, *Chortasmenos*" zitiert.

(9) Für das Gedicht siehe Hunger, *Chortasmenos*, S. 190-192 und S. 194-195.

ἣ δὴ πρόκειται μὲν ἐν καλλίστῳ τόπῳ,
λόφον τινὰ μέγιστον κληρωσαμένη
Βάσιν ἑδραίαν εὐτυχῶς ἡδρασμένην,
ἀφ' οὗπερ αὐτῇ πᾶν, ὅσονπερ ἐν κύκλῳ,
καλῶς ὁρᾶται μηδενὸς κωλύοντος,
πάντας μὲν ἐκπλήττουσα τῷ ξένῳ κόσμῳ
πάντων δ' ἐπαίνους ἐξελέγχους' ἀνθρώπων
εὐμορφίᾳ, σχήματι, κάλλει τῆς ὕλης
τῷ κυκλικῷ τε τοῦ στέγους περιδρόμῳ
ξύλων ἀρίστων εὐφυῶς κυρτωθέντων
εἰς ὀροφῆς ἔρεψιν εὐπρεπεστάτην,
τῇ λαμπρότητι μαρμάρων τῶν ἐν μέσῳ,
ξέσει, τορείᾳ, συνθέσει κιονίσκων
μικρῶν, μεγίστων ἀνεχόντων τὸν οἶκον
ἄνω κάτω τε πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκίας
εἰς εὐπρέπειαν ἱσταμένων, εἰς χρείαν
τῷ πανταχοῦ λάμποντι τοῦ εἴδους κάλλει ([10])

Nach Chortasmenos war der Palast also mit wunderschönen marmornen Säulen geschmückt, die die ganze Konstruktion trugen. Weitere kleine Säulen dekorierten den Bau, und er war mit einer kuppelartigen Konstruktion überdeckt. Solch ein Gebäude könnte zwar in dem westwärts anschließenden, heute nicht mehr erhaltenen Teil von Mermer-Kule vermutet werden, aber Chortasmenos beschreibt eindeutig die Lage des Palastes des Theodoros Palaiologos Kantakuzenos auf einem hohen Hügel (λόφον), von wo aus -von oben-wunderschöne Dinge zu sehen waren. Dies schließt eine Identifikation mit Mermer-Kule aufgrund seiner Lage direkt am Meer mit Sicherheit aus. Das Gesims mit Palaiologenmonogramm ist somit eindeutig ein Spolie.

Was aber kann Mermer-Kule gewesen sein, und wer könnte als sein Erbauer in Frage kommen ? Aus den Schriftquellen erfahren wir, daß Johannes V. Palaiologos (1341-1391) um 1390 in der Nähe des Goldenen Tores ein Πολίχνιον erbauen ließ, das er während der Unruhen in Konstantinopel als Fluchtort vorgesehen hatte ([11]). Für die Errichtung dieser Anlage nahm er unter anderem Bauteile aus Gebäuden wie dem Mokios-Kloster, der Allerheiligenkirche und der Kirche der Vierzig Märtyrer. Sein mit einer Umfassungsmauer befestigtes „Poliknion" erstreckte sich vom Goldenen Tor bis zum Marmara-Meer, wo ihm auch eine Hafenanlage angeschlossen war. Die ganze Anlage

(10) HUNGER, *Chortasmenos*, S. 190-191.

(11) DUCAE Michaelis Nepotis, *Historiae Byzantinae*, ed. E. BEKKER, *CSHB.*, Bonn 1834, S. 48.

besaß marmorne Türme, wo er möglicherweise zeitweise auch selber wohnte (12). Aufgrund eines Befehls von Yıldırım Bayezıt musste der Kaiser diese Anlage oder Teile davon abreißen lassen, da ihm Bayezıt mit der Blendung seines Sohnes Manuel drohte. Peschlow erwähnte zwar diese Anlage, doch zuerst in Verbindung mit Kaiser Johannes VI. Kantakuzenos (1347-1354) (13), dann in Verbindung mit dem wahren Erbauer, Johannes V. Palaiologos, lehnte aber eine Verbindung zwischen diesem „Poliknion" und Mermer-Kule ohne Begründung ab (14). Nach heutigem Stand des Wissens würde ich einen Zusammenhang zwischen Mermer-Kule und „Poliknion" nicht für ausgeschlossen halten und die Entstehung von Mermer-Kule zuerst in Verbindung mit Johannes V. Palaiologos sehen, zumal Theodoros Palaiologos Kantakuzenos nicht in Frage kommen kann.

Freie Univ. Berlin. Neslihan ASUTAY.

(12) Vgl. G. P. MAJESKA, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, Washington D.C. 1984, S. 411.

(13) PESCHLOW, *Mermerkule*, S. 96.

(14) Von PESCHLOW, *Rezidenz*, S. 394 wurde die Anlage καστέλλιον τῆς Κρυσείας gennant, was mit dem „πολίχνιον" des Johannes V. Palaiologos nichts zu tun hat und bei Kantakuzenos in einem anderen Zusammenhang vorkommt, siehe dazu Ioannis CANTACUZENI *Historiarum Libri IV*, ed. L. SCHOPEN, 3. Bd, *CSHB*, Bonn 1828-32, bes. Bd. 3, S. 291-93 ; auch S. W. REINERT, *The Palaiologi, Yıldırım Bayezid and Constantinople : June 1389-March 1391, To Hellenikon. Studies in Honor of Speros Vryonis, Jr., vol I. Hellenic Antiquity and Byzantium*, New York 1993, S. 289-365, bes. S. 303, nannte den Bau von Johannes V. Palaiologos τὸ καστέλλιον τῆς Κρυσείας und schrieb „This complex evidently bounded and fortified the area between the inner and outer land walls, extending from the Golden gate harbor up to the towers of the Golden Gate".

In vielen Fällen werden die Bautätigkeiten von Kaiser Johannes VI. Kantakuzenos und Johannes V. Palaiologos miteinander verwechselt. Derjenige, der in diesem Bereich eine Poliknion erbaut hatte, war Johannes V. Palaiologos. In meiner kurz vor dem Abschluß stehender Habilitationsarbeit werden die Spolien, Reparaturstellen im Bereich der Stadtmauern Konstantinopels und die integrierten Bauten in einem größeren Rahmen diskutiert.

INFORMATIONS

LA SOCIÉTÉ BELGE D'ÉTUDES BYZANTINES EN 2000

Selon la tradition, en 2000, les membres de la Société Belge d'Études Byzantines se sont réunis à trois reprises. À l'occasion de ces réunions trois conférences consacrées à des sujets divers, furent données. En voici un bref résumé.

Séance du 29 janvier 2000 — Bernard Coulie :
Informatique et lemmatisation : nouvelles approches de la lexicologie byzantine

Présidant une table ronde, M. Coulie a d'abord fait le tour des différents types d'instruments lexicologiques (dictionnaires généraux et spécialisés). Ensuite, il a analysé critiquement les critères de sélection dans les dictionnaires le plus généralement utilisés, et il a expliqué la méthode suivie par lui et son équipe pour déterminer de la façon le plus justifiée les lemmes sous lesquels les formes présentes dans les textes doivent être répertoriées. L'analyse des lexiques de Procope et de Théophane montre bien qu'on n'a pas affaire à un lexique d'«athesaurista», mais que le grec byzantin a un fonds très important qui remonte aux périodes antérieures. C'est là un élément de la langue un peu négligé jusqu'ici par les lexicographes de l'époque byzantine, qui s'occupent de préférence des mots nouveaux et des mots empruntés aux langues étrangères (le cours du débat qui suivit, n'est pas résumé ici).

Séance du 3 juin 2000 — Carl Laga :
La traduction des Quaestiones ad Thalassium *de Maxime le Confesseur par Jean Scot Érigène : l'index gréco-latin complet*

En préparant, il y a une vingtaine d'années, l'édition des *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* de Maxime le Confesseur avec la traduction latine de Jean Scot

Érigène (1), MM. Laga et Steel avaient bien remarqué que la traduction ne reflétait que péniblement le très riche vocabulaire maximien (pour ne rien dire de la morphologie et de la syntaxe). Mais l'étude des différents types de fautes et leur explication ne pouvaient pas être entreprises à l'époque de l'édition. On s'est contenté alors d'une promesse, formulée dans l'introduction.

Toutefois, intrigué d'abord par l'aspect inattendu des fautes, stimulé ensuite par le désir d'avoir en mains un instrument de travail adéquat, M. Laga a composé un index gréco-latin complet de l'œuvre en question ; puis, voulant voir si la connaissance du grec chez le moine irlandais s'améliorait au fur et à mesure que son travail avançait, M. Laga s'est attelé à la tâche ingrate de signaler les «loci» de chaque mot grec, élevant ainsi l'index au niveau d'une vraie concordance. Les conclusions de cette recherche sont multiples et surprenantes. Il est apparu que la connaissance du grec en Europe occidentale – ce qui exclut un cercle romain autour du siège apostolique –, sur le terrain lexicographique aussi bien qu'au niveau de la morphologie, était vraiment très déficiente. Le travail de l'Érigène est très inégal et on ne découvre aucun progrès réel dans la traduction des derniers chapitres, comparés aux premiers. Les moyens dont il disposait étaient d'ailleurs pauvres, et il était obligé de se servir de petits stratagèmes pour cacher son ignorance. Son astuce préférée consistait à trouver un mot ou une forme qui ressemble quelque peu, surtout par sa sonorité, au terme inconnu, pour traduire celui-ci. Il est impensable que toutes les fautes de sa traduction se soient trouvées dans son modèle grec.

Pour les passages de la bible cités par Maxime, fréquents bien entendre et parfois clairement annoncés, l'Érigène ne semble pas s'être servi d'un type particulier de traduction latine ; il les traduit plutôt par ses propres moyens, sauf peut-être l'un ou l'autre passage connu par cœur. Il n'est donc pas surprenant qu'on y rencontre les mêmes inconséquences et les mêmes types de fautes que dans le reste du texte.

séance du 21 octobre 2000 — Patricia KARLIN – HAYTER : *Par le trou de la serrure. Le plaisir à Byzance*

Byzance : plaisir ou austérité poussée à l'extrême? Plusieurs articles relativement récents et un colloque rassemblé en 1997 – tous, peut-être, anglophones? – ont étonné et incité Mme Karlin-Hayter à réunir un petit dossier, dont elle excluait les plaisirs intellectuels ou suscités par l'art.

Le naufrage des sources écrites et la déformation extrême imposée au plaisir, à de très rares exceptions près, par celles qui survivent se retrouve au niveau des autres reliques de la culture byzantine. Est-ce là l'origine du point de vue généralement rencontré? Le «portrait» évident de l'homme byzantin vient des

(1) *Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca*, 7 (1980) et 22 (1990).

fresques sur les murs des églises, s'adapte facilement aux sources écrites le plus lues – mais il ne faut pas oublier que celles qui survivent, furent préservées, dans leur vaste majorité, dans des monastères – et au petit nombre de monuments non religieux restés debout. Le seul centre de vie courante un peu volumineux à survivre, ce sont les ruines de palais à Constantinople. Elles ne suggèrent plus aujourd'hui ni luxe ni plaisir. Pourtant, les descriptions disponibles attestent un luxe invraisemblable, et les demeures de personnalités riches devaient ressembler au palais de Digénis Akritas.

Et d'autre part, quelques assiettes en argent, quelques ivoires, quelques poteries témoignent d'une incontestable présence du plaisir. Pendant longtemps, les historiens de l'art étaient gênés par ce minigroupe d'objets qui détonnaient tellement par rapport à l'image qu'impose la vaste majorité des documents qui nous sont parvenus : une scène du coffret d'ivoire du Hessisches Landmuseum, qui figurait à l'exposition d'art byzantin au Metropolitan Museum of New York en 1997 fut qualifiée par I. Kalavrezou de «puzzling scene of a naked man reclining on a bed and pulling a bare-breasted woman toward him»...

À part un rappel de l'hippodrome et de deux ou trois autres sports, la communication a été, pour la plus grande partie, consacrée aux relations entre les sexes, en utilisant essentiellement les sources juridiques et canoniques, et, en dernier lieu, la danse.

José Declerck.

CHRONIQUE

ITALO-ARMENIACA

À l'initiative du professeur Giusto Traina, l'Université de Lecce a organisé un colloque international intitulé «San Gregorio Armeno e il suo culto nell'Italia Meridionale», le 19 octobre 2001 à Lecce puis le 20 à Nardò. Le thème et le lieu du colloque ont été choisis à dessein. En effet, il s'agissait de comprendre pour quelle raison la petite ville de Nardò, située à 30 km au sud-ouest de Lecce, avait élu pour saint patron l'évangélisateur de l'Arménie. Mais il ne s'agit pas d'un cas unique car à Naples, depuis le haut Moyen Age, un monastère important est consacré au culte de S. Grégoire. Ceci est dû sans doute à la présence dans l'Italie méridionale d'Arméniens qui, notamment à Bari, firent bâtir leur propre église en 1005. On a supposé que le culte du saint arménien est lié aux rapports entre la Papauté et les communautés arméniennes de la Méditerranée orientale, établies à l'époque des Croisades. Cependant, en ce qui concerne Nardò, il est plus probable que ce culte n'y soit arrivé qu'au début du XVII[e] s. Le colloque s'est ouvert par la conférence du Père L. Zekiyan de l'Université de Venise et de l'Institut Pontifical Oriental sur *L'histoire oubliée des Arméniens en Italie. Vers une redécouverte ?*. Longtemps négligées malgré les études des Pères Méchitaristes du monastère de Saint-Lazare, les recherches sur la présence des Arméniens en Italie ont été reprises avec enthousiasme depuis le *Congrès International d'Art Arménien* (Milan, 1974), et se sont particulièrement développées ces quinze dernières années à travers des études, des expositions et divers congrès. Avec sa conférence sur *Les problèmes historiques de la conversion de l'Arménie*, G. Traina, spécialiste de l'antiquité tardive, a remis en discussion la date de la conversion, en passant en revue les diverses hypothèses de datation précises ainsi que les études les plus récentes sur les origines de l'Église arménienne. En réalité, avant même de proposer une date, il convient de comprendre les raisons profondes de cet événement qui fit époque. Il a donc réévalué le rôle du roi Tiridate qui, selon lui, est le personnage central de la conversion de l'Arménie. Il pourrait s'agir d'une double manœuvre politique du royaume arsacide pour se lier à l'empire constantinien et s'éloigner du sassanide pour

mieux marquer l'identité de la nation arménienne. S. Grégoire, quant à lui, doit sa supériorité à sa capacité de dialogue politique avec Rome et Constantinople, à son origine parthe, c'est-à-dire arsacide, à laquelle l'aristocratie arménienne philo-iranienne tenait particulièrement, et à son charisme aristocratique qui lui permettait de réussir là où le pouvoir royal échouait. L'archéologue J. KHACHATRYAN de l'Académie des Sciences d'Arménie a évoqué la capitale du royaume d'Arménie *Artaxata au seuil de la conversion de l'Arménie et après*, en mettant en relief les traces de l'évolution du paganisme, à la lumière des données archéologiques. Parmi les constructions à vocations religieuses, il a répertorié les statues de Mithra, dieu protecteur de la dynastie artaxiade qui fut assimilé à Apollon ou à Hermès et plus tard au Christ, à cause de l'évolution monothéiste du paganisme. Puis les temples de culte zoroastrien, à l'époque de la domination sassanide du IIIe siècle et enfin les églises et les centres cultuels du clergé, sans oublier la fosse de Khor Virap où S. GRÉGOIRE fut emprisonné. À travers sa conférence sur *Byzance et le Caucase : les implications politiques de l'héritage de S. Grégoire l'Illuminateur*, P. ANTONOPOULOS de l'Université de Ioannina a analysé le rôle stratégique tenu par les trois principales régions du Caucase : l'Arménie, l'Ibérie et l'Albanie, leurs rapports avec Rome puis Constantinople, la Perse et les Arabes. Ces données ont été mises en parallèle avec la figure symbolique de S. Grégoire, compte tenu de la position culturelle de l'Arménie à l'égard des nations voisines. Cette relation fut suivie par celle de G. TER-VARDANYAN de l'Institut des manuscrits (Matenadaran) d'Erevan, intitulée *Le pré-christianisme arménien selon les Histoires de l'Arménie de P'awstos Buzand*. Le spécialiste, qui est en train de préparer une édition critique du Pseudo-Fauste de Byzance, a souligné l'importance de ce texte dans la reconstruction du premier christianisme arménien qui se caractérise par sa structure complexe ainsi que l'influence subie par les modèles syriaque et grec, en proposant une future ligne de recherches dans le sillage des catégories introduites par Adontz. À travers sa conférence sur *Grégoire l'Illuminateur et les Saintes Rhipsimiennes dans les traditions géorgiennes médiévales*, Bernadette MARTIN-HISARD de l'Université de Paris I, a montré le parallélisme entre le processus de la conversion de l'Arménie et de la Géorgie, par l'intermédiaire des S. Rhipsimiennes. Ces protagonistes, avec Tiridate et S. Grégoire, de la conversion de l'Arménie, présentent cependant une marque différente car elles ont été baptisées par Sainte Nino, qui introduisit le christianisme en Ibérie. En outre, l'un des textes les plus importants de la tradition géorgienne, *La Conversion de l'Ibérie*, suivant la tradition d'Agathange, modèle le personnage de Mirian sur Tiridate qui, selon la tradition, appartenait à la même famille. Bien que la figure de S. Grégoire n'ait pas été développée par la tradition géorgienne, il semble que les récits de la conversion des deux nations soient nés d'un unique corpus de contes oraux, rédigés en Géorgie entre le Ve et le IXe s. V. BARKHUDARYAN, Vice-président et Secrétaire général de l'Académie des Sciences d'Erevan, dans son dis-

cours sur *L'Église arménienne et les communautés arméniennes en Italie*, a évoqué plus particulièrement le thème de l'émigration. Tenant compte que les Arméniens émigrés n'ont pas toujours constitué une communauté à proprement parler, il a défini la colonie arménienne sur la base des deux éléments représentés par l'Église et l'école. D'autre part, il a montré la vivacité culturelle de ces colonies, en soulignant la rapidité avec laquelle les Arméniens utilisèrent l'imprimerie à Venise, très peu de temps après son invention, et leur capacité à maintenir leur propre langue et leur propre identité, tout en participant à la vie culturelle et économique du pays d'accueil. La première journée du colloque s'est conclue avec D. KOUYMJIAN de l'Université d'État de Californie à Fresno qui a présenté l'*Iconographie arménienne de S. Grégoire*, en passant en revue les principales représentations artistiques du saint, depuis le Vᵉ s.

Le lendemain, c'est à Nardò que J.-M. MARTIN, directeur de recherches au CNRS et à l'École Française de Rome, a abordé le thème des *Orientaux dans la Pouille au Moyen Age*. À cette époque, la région était peuplée au nord par les Lombards et au sud par les Byzantins, sans doute arrivés de Sicile à travers la Calabre au IXᵉ s. À cette population sont venus s'ajouter des Arméniens parmi lesquels se trouvaient aussi bien des nobles qui remplissaient des fonctions administratives, que de simples paysans. La présence de cette communauté est attestée entre Bari et Ceglie del Campo par trois documents notariés que l'on peut dater vers l'an mil. La dernière trace des Arméniens dans l'Italie méridionale est constituée par le culte de S. Grégoire, déjà attesté à Naples entre le IXᵉ et le XIIᵉ s. Et c'est justement sur *Le culte de S. Grégoire à Naples* que la jeune chercheuse Maria LAMBERTI a axé sa conférence. Partant de la particulière prédisposition de la Campanie à accueillir des cultes orientaux, on pourrait supposer une origine du culte de S. Grégoire analogue à celle d'autres saints liés à de plus antiques divinités païennes. Cependant on ne doit pas exclure la présence d'une communauté arménienne à Naples depuis l'antiquité tardive. Quoi qu'il en soit, le culte de S. Grégoire, depuis son insertion dans le calendrier de marbre du VIIᵉ s., a eu, jusqu'à ce jour, une importance primordiale dans la ville de Naples. B. VETERE, professeur d'histoire médiévale à l'Université de Lecce, est intervenu quant à lui sur le thème des *Textes hagiographiques et identité civique*, en concentrant l'attention sur les origines médiévales du rapport entre le saint et la ville. Dans sa réflexion méthodologique, il a posé des jalons pour ouvrir une discussion sur le lien entre le culte et l'identité civique au Moyen Age, lien qui a survécu jusqu'à une période récente. À Nardò, S. Grégoire est devenu ainsi le symbole de l'identité entre citoyens et fidèles. L'étude d'un manuscrit du Matenadaran, daté de l'an 965 a permis à Isabelle AUGÉ de l'Université Paul Valéry de Montpellier, de révéler *Le transfert du doigt de Saint Pierre de Rome en Arménie*. Le document retrace le vol de la relique par un noble arménien à l'issue d'un séjour de pénitence de sept ans à Rome. B. COULIE de l'Université catholique de Louvain (Louvain-la-Neuve) a mis en parallèle les personnages de

Grégoire de Nazianze et de son homonyme arménien, en mettant au jour leurs points communs : la région d'origine (la Cappadoce) ; l'élément arménien, constitué pour Grégoire de Nazianze par une version arménienne de ses discours ; la prépondérance de leurs représentations, l'un dans l'iconographie byzantine et l'autre dans l'arménienne ; la fonction de guide spirituel mis en relief par les épithètes de «Théologien» et d'«Illuminateur» attribués par la tradition. La conférence de l'historienne de l'art, Marina FALLA de l'Université de Lecce, illustrée d'une riche iconographie, a permis de mieux connaître le *Culte et image de S. Grégoire l'Illuminateur à Byzance*. Le culte du saint arménien apparaît à Constantinople au IX^e^ s., pour des raisons plus politiques que religieuses. À partir de la capitale, son culte comme son iconographie se sont propagés dans tout l'empire que ce soit à travers des représentations isolées ou par des cycles qui représentent toute la vie de l'Illuminateur. Cette diffusion est peut-être due au rôle que le royaume arménien de Cilicie eut dans cette période. R. PAZIENZA a exposé, quant à lui, les conclusions d'une recherche qu'il a menée sur le monastère arménien de Forenza, situé à la frontière de la Pouille et de la Basilicate, dont il a reconstitué les vicissitudes depuis la fondation entre XI^e^ et XII^e^ siècles, jusqu'à son actuel état de délabrement. L'archiviste Maria Rosaria TAMBLÉ, a expliqué dans le détail *Le culte de S. Grégoire à Nardò*, en reconstituant les avatars historiques de ce culte, à partir des premiers témoignages qui remontent à l'époque de la Contre-Réforme, bien que les traditions locales veulent le faire remonter au Moyen Age. Cette étude analyse le rapport instauré avec les autres saints patrons de la ville qui, progressivement, cèdent le pas, puis la définitive prépondérance de Saint Grégoire due à son intervention salvatrice lors du séisme du 20 février 1743, ce qui explique sa célébration à cette date, différente de celle traditionnelle du 30 octobre. A. CASSIANO, directeur du Musée de la Province de Lecce, a parlé du *Buste d'argent de S. Grégoire dans la cathédrale de Nardò*. L'œuvre, datée du XVII^e^ s., a fait l'objet d'une analyse mettant en relief le manque d'éléments permettant d'identifier le saint. Supposant l'origine napolitaine de l'œuvre en question, il a souligné le lien intime qui, dans le domaine artistique, unissait la capitale du royaume des Bourbons à ses provinces les plus reculées. Ce lien a été confirmé par L. GALANTE, professeur d'histoire de l'art à l'Université de Lecce, qui a conclu le colloque avec une communication sur l'*Iconographie de S. Grégoire : de Naples au Salento*. De nombreuses diapositives ont permis de découvrir des représentations du saint créées entre la fin du XVI^e^ et le XVII^e^ s., à Naples par Teodoro del Rico, Francesco Fracanzano, Luca Giordano et à Nardò par Leonardo Antonio Olivieri.

Leone MORELLI.

COMPTES RENDUS

Ida SINKEVIĆ, *The Church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi. Architecture, Programme, Patronage* (= Spätantike – Frühes Christentum – Byzanz. Kunst im ersten Jahrtausend. Série B : *Studien und Perspektiven*, VI), Wiesbaden, Reichert, 2000, 228 p., 88 ill. en noir et blanc, 68 ill. en coul., 27 pl., ISBN 3-89500-129-5. 248 DM.

L'église Saint-Pantéleimon de Nerezi est un des monuments les plus connus du XII[e] s. bien que, jusqu'en 2000, aucune monographie approfondie ne lui ait été consacrée. La très grande qualité de ses peintures et l'originalité foncière de son programme ont néanmoins déjà été mis en évidence par tous les spécialistes de la peinture byzantine et de l'art des Comnènes. La monographie d'Ida Sinkević (issue d'une dissertation doctorale de 1994) est toutefois fort bienvenue car elle réunit toutes les données, les actualise dans le contexte des connaissances et des conceptions récentes, fournit une bonne bibliographie et publie toutes les peintures en sortant de l'ombre quelques images inédites (dommage que les photos en couleur – avec effets parfois saisissants – ne soient absolument pas nettes !). On y trouve également une étude poussée de l'architecture et de la sculpture. En outre, cet ouvrage défend une véritable thèse : l'ensemble du programme serait à mettre en relation avec les idées politiques et religieuses promulguées par Manuel Ier Comnène et par conséquent, avec la personnalité du fondateur, cousin de l'empereur, Alexis Ange Comnène. La présence de ce dernier au concile de 1166 atteste ses relations avec le souverain et peut laisser supposer que Nerezi, comme beaucoup de constructions ecclésiastiques en Macédoine, fut «supporté» par les ressources impériales. Cette thèse est surtout exposée dans le premier chapitre, consacré à Alexis et son église.

Le deuxième chapitre se rapporte à l'architecture. L'auteur analyse méthodiquement l'articulation spatiale intérieure et l'aspect extérieur de l'édifice qui témoignent à la fois d'influences constantinopolitaines et de spécificités locales. On relèvera toutefois une confusion dans la chronologie des restaurations successives de l'édifice : la voûte du narthex ne fut pas restaurée en 1958-59 (p. 20) puisque des photos en notre possession, prises en 1965, montrent encore un narthex en appentis (comme sur la fig. 3). On note dès lors des erreurs

dans les légendes de plusieurs illustrations. La figure 4 ne se rapporte donc pas à l'état de l'église après 1958-59 mais probablement au premier état des restaurations effectuées dans les années 1970 (dont la figure 5 présente l'état final).

Dans le troisième chapitre, I.S. étudie le décor peint dont elle dégage, avec beaucoup de finesse, la cohérence et les particularités. On regrettera néanmoins qu'elle passe totalement sous silence l'ornementation peinte non figurative : rien n'est dit des motifs géométriques ou végétaux séparant certaines images et des imitations de placage de marbres. Tout en répondant, dans ses grandes lignes, à la conception d'une décoration du temps des Comnènes dans une église en croix grecque inscrite, le programme iconographique de Nerezi a été élaboré pour traduire dans l'espace un message dogmatique, liturgique et politique. Ceci est particulièrement sensible dans le bêma, notamment dans le baiser de Luc et d'André dans la *Communion des Apôtres* (baiser de paix qui, d'après l'auteur, reflèterait les tendances pro-uniates de Manuel Ier et témoignerait de la collaboration entre les deux cousins) et dans la *Concélébration épiscopale autour de l'Hétimasie*. Comme la regrettée Gordana Babić l'avait déjà souligné en 1968, cet office des évêques est à considérer comme une réaffirmation, par l'image, des thèses défendues par les conciles de 1156/57 (et 1166) quant aux deux natures du Christ et à la participation de la Trinité indivisible à l'Eucharistie. La présence précoce de deux évêques officiant autour de l'*Hétimasie* dans l'abside de Veljusa (ap. 1080) – élément rappelé par I.S. – pose donc toujours problème : sans doute doit-elle être expliquée comme l'illustration d'idées déjà développées sous Alexis Ier ; l'image de Nerezi en serait une amplification réactualisée par les discussions du temps de Manuel Ier. Notons que c'est par erreur que l'auteur mentionne également une *Hétimasie* à la Sainte-Trinité de Koutsovendis (p. 36) : les prélats officiant conservés s'y trouvent aux extrémités de l'abside, le centre de celle-ci a été détruit et son décor est donc inconnu. Pour I.S., l'impact des débats de l'Eglise et sa position officielle se reflètent également dans le programme des coupoles. Le décor de la coupole centrale date du XVI^e^ s. mais la *Divine Liturgie* qui y figure s'inspire peut-être du programme primitif étant donné le caractère tout à fait novateur des coupoles secondaires où sont représentés quatre aspects du Christ et des anges tenant des objets liturgiques. Les neuf scènes christologiques du naos sont étudiées, en tenant compte de leurs correspondances signifiantes dans l'espace, c'est-à-dire en relevant la dialectique qui unit des scènes en vis-à-vis ou juxtaposées tel le fameux face-à-face de la *Présentation au Temple* et du *Thrène* (on ne comprend toutefois pas pourquoi la *Déposition* est analysée avant la *Transfiguration*). Malgré l'originalité de ce cycle – que l'auteur souligne à juste titre –, il faut néanmoins rappeler qu'une *Descente de croix* et un *Thrène* figurent déjà, au XI^e^ s., à Saint-Nicolas-du-Toit de Kakopetria. L'analyse du chœur des saints est un peu déroutante par l'ordre choisi. Pourquoi, par exemple, pour les ascètes, la place la plus importante est-elle la première près du chœur et, pour les hymnographes, celle du milieu ? D'autre part, pourquoi

n'avoir pas analysé ensemble les deux icônes de proskynèse et relié la présence de saint Pantéleimon à celle des autres anargyres au sud-est de l'église ? Pour I.S., l'accent mis sur le martyre du saint patron dans le narthex dénote la volonté d'Alexis d'honorer son protecteur en le mettant en relation avec le Christ dont la Passion est spécialement représentée dans le naos. L'étude du programme s'achève par l'examen des saints présents dans les chapelles latérales. Celle du nord-ouest, où figurent plusieurs saints guérisseurs, était peut-être destinée à recevoir la tombe du fondateur. G. Babić (*Chapelles annexes*, p. 166) pensait que l'exiguïté de la cavité indiquait plutôt un dépôt de reliques ou une tombe d'enfant. Pour ce chapitre, on ajoutera à la bibliographie : D. Bardzieva-Trajkovska, *On the Programme of the Western Premises in Nerezi*, dans *Kulturno Nasledstvo*, xxii-xxiii, 1995-96 (97), pp. 7-36 ; A. Nicolaïdes, *L'église de la Panagia Arakiotissa à Lagoudera, Chypre : étude iconographique des fresques de 1192*, dans *D.O.P.*, L, 1996, pp. 1-137, ainsi que la deuxième édition de J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge dans l'empire byzantin et en Occident*, 2 vol., parue en 1992.

Le chapitre IV, «Les artistes et leur legs», est consacré à l'étude stylistique des peintures. Pour I.S., quatre artistes, au moins, ont œuvré dans l'église. La question des différentes «mains» dans un ensemble unifié comme Nerezi est délicate à résoudre. En ce qui concerne les chapelles latérales, il semblerait qu'une étude plus poussée pourrait aboutir à des conclusions plus nuancées.

L'examen de la sculpture occupe le chapitre V et permettra enfin aux spécialistes d'appréhender un des (très rares) ensembles de sculptures datés. Il est toutefois dommage que l'auteur ait privilégié de manière exclusive l'étude stylistique du décor sculpté. En ne s'intéressant pas aux matériaux, elle se prive d'une problématique intéressante. L'encadrement d'icône de saint Pantéleimon est en stuc, ce qui est rare car les sculpteurs mésobyzantins utilisent généralement le marbre, qui est d'ailleurs le matériau dans lequel est sculpté le templon de l'église de Nerezi. Or, des reliefs en stuc sont également répandus en Epire et en Thrace à la même période. En témoignent les sculptures des églises de Kostaniani, de Lyngos et de Pétrovitsa, actuellement conservées au musée de Ioannina, ainsi que les quatre chapiteaux de l'église de la Panagia Kosmosotira à Pherrai. Il est intéressant de souligner que cette dernière église, fondée par l'empereur Isaac II Comnène, présente, comme Nerezi, des liens étroits avec la capitale impériale. L'auteur a déjà remarqué que les fresques et l'architecture de ces deux églises comportaient plusieurs points communs ; le stuc en est un autre. A l'orientation bibliographique fournie par l'auteur, on ajoutera le livre de S. Filipova, *Architectural Decorative Sculpture in Macedonia. v-vi and xi-xii C.*, Skopje, 1997.

Enfin, le chapitre VI est un épilogue sur «Nerezi après Alexis» où sont, notamment, envisagées les peintures du xvi^e^ s. Ces œuvres, assez délicates, présentent plus d'analogies avec les créations bulgares contemporaines qu'avec

les œuvres serbes. Dans la conclusion, I.S. souligne le rôle des facteurs régionaux qui influencent la référence à Constantinople. Le but de l'auteur «to pay yet another tribute to the fame of this exquisite monument of Byzantine civilization» est largement atteint dans cette étude approfondie, convaincante et enthousiaste.

Lydie HADERMANN-MISGUICH et Catherine VANDERHEYDE.

R.-J. LILIE, *Byzanz. Geschichte des oströmischen Reiches, 326-1453*, München, Verlag C. H. Beck, 1999, 128 pages. ISBN 3-406-41885-6.

Ce petit volume constitue un essai de présenter l'histoire de l'empire romain d'Orient – surtout l'histoire politique – sous la forme d'un livre de poche.

Toutefois, nous devons noter certains propos au moins surprenants. Par ex. que l'empire d'Orient fut inférieur à l'*Imperium Romanum* du passé et que le regard constant vers un passé glorieux ne put que faire naître un sentiment d'infériorité, dont une des manifestations fut l'imitation, plus ou moins inconditionnelle, du passé. Cette imitation expliquerait, selon l'A., les renaissances macédonienne, comnène et paléologue (Introduction, pp. 9-10). Ou encore que les monastères, comme refuges de connaissances et centres régionaux, n'existaient pas et que l'Église byzantine, en particulier les moines et les ascètes, était moins impliquée dans les affaires séculières qu'en Occident (p. 17).

Le portrait esquissé de l'empereur Héraclius étonne aussi. L'A. affirme que la victoire sur les Perses, après sept années de guerre, «s'explique difficilement de manière rationnelle, aussi bien pour ses contemporains que pour les chercheurs modernes» ; cette campagne était «un vrai jeu de hasard» car l'empereur «devait laisser sa capitale à la merci d'un siège des troupes conjointes des Slaves, des Avars et des Perses» (p. 48). De même, l'A. met en doute l'œuvre réformatrice administrative et militaire d'Héraclius pour réduire celui-ci à «un grand général, certes, qui dans une situation désespérée, dont dans une large mesure il était lui-même responsable, développait des qualités du chef et par-dessus tout avait une veine presque impertinente» (pp. 54-55).

Quant à Basile II, l'A. relativise sa renommée, car «il profitait bien largement du fait qu'au Proche-Orient et dans les Balkans existait un certain vide du pouvoir, ce qui relativise considérablement ses succès. En fin de compte, Byzance jouait ici le rôle du borgne qui règne parmi les aveugles» (pp. 68-69).

Margarete LUY-DÄSCHLER.

Gregorii Presbyteri, Vita Sancti Gregorii Theologi, quam edidit et Gallice reddidit Xavier Lequeux *Corpus Christianorum*, series Graeca 44 = *Corpus Nazianzenum*, 11, Turnhout - Leuven, Brepols-University Press, 2001, pp. XXII-285.

Gregorio Presbitero ha atteso per 14 secoli chi si occupasse a fondo di lui e finalmente, dopo vari precorrimenti, dai Maurini (Ch. Clémencet, PG 35,243-304), che lo immisero nella grande circolazione, a J. Compernass, che lo introdusse nel sec. XX, alle soglie del XXI ha ottenuto una piena soddisfazione. E se la meritava. Se non fu, infatti, una grande intelligenza, fu certamente uno spirito fine, un'anima nobile, uno scrittore di garbo, che si rese simpatico per la dote preziosa di riuscire gradevole senza ricercatezze.

Dovette essere di buona scuola, nutrito di una certa abbondanza di letture e diligente nel tenere la penna allenata, perché essa scorre agevole, in una scioltezza che unisce la spontaneità del parlato con la distinzione di chi ha ricevuto un'accurata educazione letteraria.

Ne caratterizza la fisionomia una signorile pacatezza : sa guardare le vicende umane con la partecipazione di chi ne avverte l'importanza e con il tranquillo distacco di chi ne comprende la relatività. Ha la persuasività della calma e l'attrattiva di un decoro permeato di semplicità. Mostra il buon gusto di non imporsi ; non si fa protagonista, lascia che lo sia Gregorio. La sua intonazione è pacata sia nello stile che nell'atteggiamento psicologico ; rifugge dall'enfasi ; la sua ammirazione per il Nazianzeno è genuina, pur senza mai forzarne le dimensioni. Racconta evidenziando il merito senza scivolare nell'applauso ; il suo atteggiamento è quello dello storico non quello del panegirista ; narra non adorna ; i suoi giudizi possono essere elogiativi, ma mai entusiastici. La sua titolatura qualificativa è generosa nei riconoscimenti, ma è ben lontana dalle gonfiature d'ossequio e dagli inchini cerimoniosi a cui la cortesia bizantina era corriva : incontriamo infatti μέγας per Gregorio (p.138,32 ; 140,29-30 ; 144,15 ; 164,43 ; 188,7), per Basilio (148,3 ; 150,10 ; 158,51-52) e per Melezio (188,11) ; ὁ πάνυ per Basilio (138,4) e per Atanasio (164,42) ; θαυμάσιος per Gregorio il Vecchio (152,17) ; γεννάδας per Gregorio (172,51) ; ὅσιος per Eusebio di Cesarea di Cappadocia (148,2 : burocratico) ed ὁσιοτάτη per Gorgonia (154,5) ; μακάριος per Gregorio (174,3 ; 178,7 ; 182,6 ; 192,4 e 8 ; 200,6) ; φωστήρ per Basilio (148,8 ; 160,24-25). Si tratta di epiteti largamente invalsi, che finivano per ridursi più a testimonianza di riguardo che ad effettiva misura di apprezzamento. Se pone in relazione le regole monastiche elaborate da Basilio e da Gregorio con il decalogo di Mosè (138,14-15), non le accosta per eccellenza, asserisce soltanto che il Sinai fu il modello ispiratore di Annesi ; il raffronto che aveva appena prima istituito con Licurgo, Solone, Minosse svela perspicuamente che aveva adottato un accorgimento espressivo inculcato dalla precettistica scolastica.

Sulla questione di Sasima (150,9-32) è obiettivo : riferisce i dati forniti da Gregorio con adesione ma spogliandoli di ogni emotività ; più che difendere Gregorio, ne accetta la difesa : fa apologia facendo storia. Contro gli eretici esprime intransigenza di biasimo, astenendosi però da insulti e da quelle denominazioni infamanti che ricorrevano in altri ; in un clima che facilmente si surriscaldava di polemiche teologiche si comporta con un saggio equilibrio ; anche

con Giuliano, se lo giudica con una dura condanna, evita l'ingiuria e la derisione (144,1-15).

Il biografo conosce bene il patrimonio letterario del Nazianzeno, dal quale attinge con disinvoltura le informazioni che gli risultano acconce e lo fa con abile scelta : i passi sembrano emergere spontanei evocati dall'opportunità. Non tradisce difficoltà nel connetterli né nel disporli nell'organicità di una linea unitaria e coerente. La sua composizione pare un mosaico a composizione nativa. Nel detrarre da Gregorio è fedele ed è sereno : anche dove il Nazianzeno sfoga un pathos intenso o prorompe in accenti drammatici o aspramente polemici egli riferisce la notizia in imperturbabilità narrativa ; non raffredda Gregorio, lo essenzializza, pur conservando i fatti ed il clima nel quale avvennero. Nei rapporti con la sua fonte si comporta con obiettività di adesione : non intensifica i dati per trasformarli in celebrazione né li inaridisce riassumendoli ; conserva un calore di partecipazione che ci appare genuino proprio per la sua misura controllata.

Si attiene in equanimità ai documenti, ma non li lascia nella loro inerte staticità ; li riassume con esattezza, ma li fa anche, seppure con vigile solerzia, parlare ; riporta quello che comunicano ed esplicita, talvolta, quello che sottintendono : tuttavia lo fa in piana verosimiglianza, senz'ombra di cedimento al romanzesco o al sensazionale (cfr. 142,24-26) : sa che nessuna narrazione comprende tutta la realtà, che ogni resoconto è selettivo e che tutte le cose prolungano una scia alle loro spalle. Quando a p. 178,3 rievoca le molte allocuzioni illuminanti che Gregorio tenne nelle assemblee ecclesiali, non fa che sintetizzare quanto Gregorio stesso attestò in varie occasioni e sotto varie angolature ; a p. 158,46-48 il Presbitero afferma che Basilio stabilì, per la sua fondazione assistenziale, delle rendite annuali che egli si procurò con donazioni dei ricchi : l'editore (p. 238 nota 9) rileva l'unicità di questa testimonianza : è vero, ma la deduzione nasce dalla logica stessa delle cose e dalla vigorosa insistenza con cui Basilio incalzò i ricchi sul dovere della beneficenza verso i poveri. Talora poi, senza sufficiente fondamento, è stata attribuita al biografo una certa elasticità di lettura : così a p. 166,9-10 Tillemont (Lequeux p. 247 nota 6) intese, dissentendo, che il biografo affermasse che Massimo il Cinico fu battezzato dal Nazianzeno, cosa però che egli non «lascia intendere» affatto ; poco dopo (p. 168,25-27) alcuni si scandalizzarono quasi che Gregorio il Presbitero, sulla traccia di Gregorio il Teologo (Carm. II,I,11,881-892), avesse insinuato che l'oro carpito da Massimo ad un prete di Taso, fosse servito a «comperare» Pietro, patriarca di Alessandria, ma nessuno dei due narratori suscita un tale sospetto : sarebbe stato d'altronde stravagante pensare che il patriarca d'Alessandria, l'effettivo padrone dell'Egitto (il «Faraone»), che disponeva d'ingenti quantità di grano e di flotte per il suo trasporto, si lasciasse sedurre dal prezzo di qualche lastra di marmo di Proconneso. Il Nazianzeno menziona esplicitamente la venalità dei marinai alessandrini, massa di manovra sempre pronta per torbidi, ed il biografo, che non

scende a particolari, fa pensare piuttosto (e soltanto) al finanziamento del viaggio ad Alessandria di un intermediario incaricato di tessere la trama.

Il Presbitero presenta un quadro chiaro e ben fondato delle vicende, ma non scandaglia motivazioni, non indaga su genesi di situazioni ; se inserisce qualche accenno che vi s'inoltri, si arresta subito ; è soddisfatto di quanto suggerisce l'esperienza alla luce del buon senso. Infatti a p. 156,39-40 imbastisce un percorso di psicologia morale, assennato ma piuttosto ovvio ; poco prima (p. 156,18-23) aveva sviluppato uno scorcio di filosofia pratica sull'amministrazione pubblica, ma seguiva I Tim. 3,5 ; a p. 168,45-48 enuncia un' osservazione di psicologia interpretativa della storia, un'altra la propone a p. 172,31-32 e della storia a p. 148,18-22 esprime un barlume di concezione teologica : sono riflessioni senz'altro condivisibili, ma piuttosto modeste nella loro tradizionalità. Anche quando presenta l'arianesimo (p. 158,4-5) e l'apollinarismo (162,1-5), li semplifica all'essenziale in un'esattezza che si allea alla comprensibilità immediata : evita tecnicismi teologici attenendosi ad una concretezza popolaresca che sa però tutelarsi dall'impreciso e dal rozzo.

La lingua del Presbitero è limpida e semplice ; scorre fluente anche attraverso a periodi che talora sono strutturati su una certa complessità pure in una impostazione generale paratattica ; l'autore non fatica né a pensare né ad esprimersi ; se non è concettualmente profondo, non è però mai né banale né intricato : la sua pagina ha un sapore di vivo che richiama la conversazione. Il suo lessico, appropriato, è distinto nella sua fisionomia classica ; lo scrittore maneggia con disinvoltura i composti, mentre si astiene tanto da arcaismi artificiosi quanto da volgarismi trasandati, tuttavia non sfoggia una maestria della quale è pur notevolmente fornito. La sua è un'apparente elementarità che mira ad un'immediatezza ispirata dal buon gusto ; la sua schematicità è assai più lucidità che povertà.

Il biografo possiede una buona attrezzatura retorica, che però non ostenta mai : i suoi traslati sono innestati sulla vita e scaturiscono dall'esperienza : non sanno di manuale. Troviamo infatti che Basilio è uno stratega il quale, accanto al Nazianzeno, penetra nella fortezza degli eretici (p. 148,12-14), che i due amici sono come il caglio nel latte (150,23), che la resistenza opposta da Gregorio è analoga ad una quercia incrollabile agli assalti dei venti (156,35-36), che Basilio è atleta che si unge d'olio per affrontare i combattimenti spirituali (160,25-26), che le azioni del Teologo, nella loro moltitudine, affluiscono confuse alla mente del biografo come, a mare mosso, i flutti si susseguono coprendo quelli precedenti (166,48-50).

Sono rarissime le esclamazioni (cfr. p. 124,20-21) e le interrogazioni retoriche (cfr. p. 154,11-14) ; entra invece nelle sue predilezioni la vivacizzazione rapida e fuggevole che sottolinea le situazioni salienti, sul tipo : «che fece allora ?» (p. 124,22-23 ; 138,2 ; 142,20 ; 168,42 ; 172,31), «che cosa disse ?» (178,7), «che bisogno c'è di dire ?» (130,2 ; 188,14-15), forma che conosce anche la

variante esortativa : «ascoltate che cosa fece» (166,21). Il Presbitero è uno scrittore che non ama stupire i lettori, preferisce informarli, fornendo loro, in concisa sufficienza, le linee portanti della grande figura del Nazianzeno. Se non ha redatto un capolavoro, ha tuttavia compiuto un'opera che meritava di giungere ai posteri, ai quali aveva un nobile messaggio da annunziare.

A questo pregio ed ai conseguenti diritti ha risposto, in maniera eccellente, la prestazione di X. Lequeux. Innanzi tutto la sua versione francese interpreta il testo in stretta fedeltà nella più fluida scorrevolezza ; rende il pensiero, il ritmo ed il tono, riproducendo la tersa naturalezza dell'originale. Il traduttore ha saputo essere preciso senza schiavitù e disinvolto senza arbitrii di manipolazione ; ha avuto la virtù di eclissarsi dietro all'autore rinunziando ad intrusioni della sua personalità, sottraendosi alle aberrazioni di quanti si propongono di 'modernizzare' gli antichi.

L'opera storico-letteraria di Gregorio Presbitero è stata da L. posta al centro di un'amplissima cornice culturale : l' Introduzione esordisce con lo studiare il genere letterario della *Vita* e la precettistica retorica che gli corrisponde (pp. 3-5) ; al culmine poi di una serrata discussione L. sostiene che il Presbitero fu persona distinta dall'autore dell' *Elogio dei 318 Padri di Nicea* e colloca la stesura della *Vita* tra il 543 ed il 638 (pp. 7-16). Ad esito del suo esame sulla lingua (p. 17-20) pone che «l'agiografo si esprime in una lingua generalmente conforme a quella dei grandi autori antichi» (17) e, analizzando il modo con cui egli utilizzò l'opera letteraria del Nazianzeno (21-28), conclude che «la *Vita* non è sempre un decalco di quanto si legge nel Teologo» (26) e che intento del Presbitero «non fu di redigere la biografia particolareggiata di un uomo illustre, ma quello di abbozzare il ritratto di un santo» (27).

L'altro lato della cornice è costituito da un ricchissimo commento (pp. 204-265), che passa alla lente le questioni di ogni genere che ad una lettura sagace possono sorgere. L. crea sfondi che permettono un'esauriente comprensione di formulazioni linguistiche inserendole nella loro evoluzione diacronica, segnala la carica filosofica di determinati vocaboli, mette in luce antecedenti storici e reminiscenze culturali e letterarie, rileva atteggiamenti psicologici, idee ed abitudini mentali connesse con l'evolversi dei tempi, moduli scolastici, concordanze del biografo con la sua fonte... Talvolta, a dilucidare questioni, basta il ricorso al Nazianzeno, sovente accorre puntuale e precisa la bibliografia specifica, la quale è dispersa ed integrata sui singoli problemi ed è elencata sistematicamente all'esordio (pp. VII-XXII).

Tuttavia non è qui che risiede il valore essenziale del libro : esso si basa soprattutto sui 179 codici greci superstiti inventariati, su quelli perduti e sulle versioni in parecchie lingue antiche (pp. 29-94). L. li ha distribuiti in vari gruppi, dai quali ha potuto selezionare 13 manoscritti che gli hanno fornito una copiosa messe di lezioni : i criteri con cui è stata costituita l'edizione sono minuziosamente esposti a garanzia del lettore, che è così messo in grado di valutare

ogni scelta testuale (pp. 95-118). Questa «tradizione sovrabbondante» (p. 95) proclama il merito del Presbitero e l'aperto favore con cui la sua opera fu accolta : certo il Nazianzeno attirava, ma il suo richiamo avrebbe facilmente potuto venire smorzato da un involucro opaco : il Presbitero seppe concentrare senza comprimere. Il suo editore ne valorizzò l'opera con sapienti e dosate illuminazioni di tutte le membrature. Quest'edizione è un solenne monumento ai meriti del Presbitero ed insieme una dimostrazione di quelli di colui che gli dedicò cure così competenti ed informate. Se è vero che nessun lavoro è definitivo, questo di Lequeux, uscito agli albori del terzo millennio, ha tutta l'aria di essere destinato ad inoltrarvisi per lunghissimi spazi.

Francesco TRISOGLIO.

NOTICES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

Ακαδημία Αθηνών. Λεξικογραφικὸν Δελτίον, 22 (1999), 274 pages.

Un seul article, celui de N. MOUTZOURIS, *Ετυμολογικές και σημασιολογικές παρατηρήσεις επί των λέξεων αφαλαρίδα, φάλαρα, Φάλαρος, Φάληρον, φαλακρός- βάκρος* (pp. 119-131), peut intéresser les philologues de la période byzantine ; il se réfère aux sources écrites byzantines comme Théodore Prodrome, Étienne de Byzance, etc., ainsi qu'au dialecte de la Cappadoce.

P. YANNOPOULOS

Pauline ALLEN et B. NEIL, *Scripta saeculi VII Vitam Maximi Confessoris illustrantia una cum latina interpretatione Anastasii Bibliothecarii iuxta posita* (*Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca*, 39), Turnhout et Leuven, Brepols et University Press, 1999, XLIX + 250 pages. ISBN 2-503-40391-3 (relié) ; 2-503-40392-1 (broché) ; 2-503-40000-0 (série).

Les byzantinistes, et surtout ceux qui s'occupent du VII^e^ s., attendaient depuis longtemps l'édition critique des textes liés au procès de S. Maxime le Confesseur sous Constant II. Il s'agit de sept textes, à savoir : les discussions entre Maxime et ses juges avant et pendant son procès (*CPG* 7736) ; les discussions à Bizie entre Maxime déjà en exil et l'envoyé de l'empereur, Théodore de Césarée (*CPG* 7735) ; une lettre de Maxime à son élève Anastase lorsque les deux hommes étaient en exil (*CPG* 7701) ; une lettre d'Anastase aux moines Calaritains (*CPG* 7725) ; une lettre d'Anastase l'Apocrisiaire à Théodose de Gangre (*CPG*. 7733) ; un résumé des faits, connu sous le nom d'*Hypomnesticum* (*CPG* 7968) ; et un texte anonyme en faveur de Maxime et contre les opinions religieuses de l'église constantinopolitaine (*CPG* 7740). A l'exception du dernier texte, ces documents sont en grande partie traduits en latin par Anastase le Bibliothécaire ; sa traduction est éditée en vis-à-vis du texte grec. Il y a même des cas où cette traduction est notre source, car certains passages sont perdus en grec.

Le volume contient une importante partie introductive, où sont passées en revue deux questions fondamentales : le contexte historique du monothélisme et la biographie de S. Maxime ainsi que les problèmes qu'elle pose. Suit une étude de la tradition manuscrite et une analyse de la traduction anastasienne et de sa transmission manuscrite. Un appendice avec l'identification des toponymes complète l'introduction. Ensuite, chaque texte édité constitue un chapitre.

L'édition est précédée chaque fois d'une introduction, consacrée à la tradition manuscrite. Quatre index rendent l'accès aux textes très aisé.

P. YANNOPOULOS

Annuaire de l'Université de Sofia «St. Kliment Ohridski». Centre de recherches Slavo-byzantines «Ivan Dujcev», 87 (6) (1994), paru en 1996, 144 pages + 10 planches hors texte, ISSN 0861-6353.

Dans le vol. 87, on peut distinguer deux groupes d'articles : ceux qui concernent le monde slave, et d'autres, inclassables. Parmi les premiers P. MALINGOUDIS, *Zur sozial und ethnischen Assimilierung der Slaven in Byzanz : Der Fall der Rhendakioi* (pp. 13-20), s'intéresse à des fonctionnaires byzantins du nom de Rendaki(o)s, qu'il considère comme étant d'origine slave. J. BRATULIC, *La Curia Romana e la missione di Constantino-Cirilo e di Metodio* (pp. 37-41), rend hommage à la capacité diplomatique de Méthode, qui a pu contourner l'attitude hostile de la *Curia* romaine à son égard et à celui de son frère. A. E. TACHIAOS, *Bechoto ziacenie na kirilicata* (pp. 43-49), étudie l'écriture cyrillique comme porteuse de valeurs culturelles du monde slave. L'étude de Margaret MULLETT, *Byzantium and the Slavs : the Views of Theophylact of Ochrid* (pp. 55-70), analyse des Lettres de Théophylacte d'Ochrid, qui vivait en réalité aux bords des trois monde : grec, slave et bulgare, pour constater que cet écrivain donne une image peu claire et parfois déformée du monde slave. N. MOUTSOPOULOS, *Le château-fort de Setina* (pp. 71-78), étudie la place forte de Setina située en Pelagonie, détruite par Basile II, et dont les fortifications reconstruites ont été utilisées jusqu'au temps modernes. Elizabeth PILTZ, *Varagian Compagnies for Long Distance Trade - Aspects of Interchange between Scandinavia, Rus' and Byzantium in the XI-XII^th C.* (pp. 79-107), dans une étude parue dans les actes du colloque sur les Relations entre la Scandinavie et Byzance et les Arabes, retrace en réalité la route des Varanges depuis le grand Nord jusqu'à Constantinople. L'article concerne le monde slave russe. L. MAKSIMOVIĆ, *Vladarska ideologia u srpskoj drzavi i podizanje Studenice* (pp. 109-125) étudie la politique de la dynastie des Nemenja telle qu'elle se manifeste dans la fondation du monastère de Studenica en 1183. S. VRYONIS, *The Maritime Statutes of Dubrovnik and the Rhodian Sea Law (Byzantium)* (pp. 127-139), pense que les lois maritimes byzantines n'étaient pas d'applications à Raguse qui, tournée vers l'Occident, gérait ses relations commerciales sur la base d'un autre code.

Les articles de la deuxième catégorie sont au nombre de deux. P. SCHREINER, *Legenden um Kaiser Maurikios. Zur Schaffung eines positiven und eines negativen Kaiserbildes* (pp. 7-12), note que l'image que donnent les sources de Maurice est tributaire de l'orientation religieuse de leurs rédacteurs. L'article de N. TOBIAS, *Evolution of Byzantine Strategy from Heraclius to Basil I : a Preliminary Study* (pp. 21-35) est préliminaire : après avoir étudié certaines grandes batailles, il constate que la stratégie byzantine restait essentiellement défensive,

car elle ne visait pas la victoire, mais à stopper la progression des envahisseurs. Le dernier article, celui de F. BARISIĆ, *Quelques remarques sur les Actes du Prôtaton du XIII^e et du XIV^e s.* (pp. 141-144) est en réalité un compte-rendu de la publication des Actes du Protaton par D. Papachryssanthou.

P. YANNOPOULOS

Catherine ASDRACHA, *Inscriptions chrétiennes et protobyzantines de la Thrace Orientale et de l'île d'Imbros (III^e-VII^e siècles). Présentation et commentaire historique*, extrait d'*Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον, Μελέτες*, 48-49 (1994-1995), pp. 279-356 + 9 planches hors texte ; 51-52 (1996-1997), pp. 333-386 + 6 planches hors texte.

Depuis 1988, l'A. édite régulièrement des inscriptions provenant de la région de Thrace. 110 inscriptions sont ainsi éditées ou rééditées. 85 autres font l'objet d'une édition dans les deux fascicules que nous présentons ici (du n° 111 au n° 166 dans le premier et du n° 167 au n° 195 dans le second), tandis qu'une suite est déjà annoncée. Nous avons présenté dans le passé les principes adoptés par l'A. pour l'édition des inscriptions et la manière dont celles-ci sont commentées ; nos remarques restent valables pour ces deux fascicules. Il va de soi que l'importance de cette collection est grande, car elle met à la disposition des chercheurs un matériel fiable permettant l'étude de la société locale et l'approfondissement des institutions du bas empire romain et de la haute époque byzantine.

P. YANNOPOULOS

A. R. BELLINGER et Ph. GRIERSON, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, vol. IV : *Alexius I to Michael VIII, 1081-1261*, par M. F. HENDY, Part 1 : *Alexius I to Alexius V (1081-1204)*, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1999, xii + 443 pages ; Part 2 : *The Emperors of Nicaea and Their Contemporaries (1204-1261)*, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1999, vii + pp. 444-736 + 54 planches hors texte. ISBN 0-88402-233-1. Vol. V : *Michael VIII to Constantine XI, 1258-1453* par Ph. GRIERSON, Part I : *Introduction, Appendices and Bibliography*, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1999, xvi + 285 pages ; Part II : *Catalogue, Concordances, and Indexes*, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1999, x + pp. 286-611, dont 91 planches. ISBN 0-88402-261-7.

Ces deux volumes, comprenant chacun deux parties, constituent l'aboutissement de la longue opération que constituent l'étude et la publication des pièces byzantines conservées dans les deux plus grandes collections américaines : celle de l'Insitut du Dumbarton Oaks et la Whittemore Collection. Les caractéristiques de la série étant établies depuis son premier volume, il n'y a pas y revenir, et les mérites de la publication sont trop connus pour les répéter. Il faut peut-être signa-

ler que le travail se limite exclusivement à la production monétaire de toute autorité se proclamant byzantine. Ainsi par ex., les monnayages de l'empire de Nicée, de l'empire de Trébizonde, du despotat de l'Epire, du royaume de Chypre sous Isaac Comnène, etc. sont integrés à l'étude, tandis que les monnaies frappées par différentes formations étatiques issues du partage de l'empire entre les croisés, ou encore les monnayages géorgiens, seldjuk, bulgare, serbe etc. ne sont pas considérés .

Quant à la méthode, celle appliquée par Hendy pour le vol. 4 reste plus au moins dans la ligne des volumes précédents, et cela parce que la période des Comnènes et des Anges, malgré la réforme monétaire d'Alexis I^{er}, reste dans le sillage du système byzantin de la période méso-byzantine. Pour les périodes nicéenne et paléologue, la méthode change nécessairement, car la monnaie byzantine ne joue plus un rôle primordial sur la scène internationale et ne sert plus de monnaie de référence. Ainsi, elle doit être étudiée dans un contexte monétaire plus large, dont les règles sont fixées par les États occidentaux.

Pour le reste, ces deux volumes sont aussi bien illustrés et aussi solidement documentés que les précédents. Les byzantinistes se réjouissent sans nul doute de l'achèvement de cet instrument fondamental pour étude de la vie économique, financière et sociale de l'empire.

P. YANNOPOULOS

BENOÎT (moine du Mont Athos ΒΕΝΕΔΙΚΤΟΣ ΙΕΡΟΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ), *Γρηγοριανὸν Ταμεῖον ἤτοι Εὑρετήριον Θεμάτων τῶν Ἁπάντων Ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου βάσει τῆς Πατρολογίας τοῦ P. J. MIGNE, EPE (= Ἕλληνες Πατέρες τῆς Ἐκκλησίας) καὶ ΒΕΠΕΣ (= Βιβλιοθήκη Ἑλλήνων Πατέρων καὶ Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν Συγγραφέων)*, Néa Skiti, Mont Athos (Éd. Équipe du P. Spyridon), 2001, 916 pages.

Sous le titre *Trésor grégorien ou répertoire de tous les thèmes traités par saint Grégoire le Théologien, basé sur la Patrologie de P. J Migne* (les sigles EPE et BEPES désignent des réimpressions helléniques du texte des Mauristes reproduit par Migne *PG* 35-38), le P. Benoît butine dans la prose et les vers de Grégoire de Nazianze des passages qui concernent 439 rubriques ou thèmes choisis comme édifiants. Chacun des extraits retenus est cité dans le texte original avec une traduction en grec moderne, sauf lorsque la citation serait trop longue, par exemple, pp. 157-162, sous la rubrique *Baptême*, le Discours 40 (*Sur le Baptême*) est résumé en démotique. Le prologue de Th. Zisis et le visa de l'équipe éditrice garantissent la conformité de l'ouvrage avec l'idéologie monastique de l'Auteur. Néanmoins ce livre peut rendre service au grand public et au clergé hellénophones parce qu'il met à leur portée une masse d'extraits des œuvres de l'écrivain du IV^{e} s., traduits en grec moderne avec des références claires aux éditions complètes.

J. MOSSAY

W. BLUMER, R. HENKE et M. MÜLKE, edit., *Alvarium. Festschrift für Christian Gnilka*, Munster-en-Westphalie, Aschendorf, 2002 (*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum.*, Ergänzungsband 33), XIV + 405 pages + 20 illustrations. ISBN 3-402-08119-9.

Le Prof. Ch. Gnilka s'est spécialisé dans l'étude de l'utilisation de l'antiquité (*chrêsis*) par des auteurs chrétiens : cfr. XPHΣIΣ : *Die Methode der Kirchenväter im Umgang mit der antiken Kultur.* I. *Der Begriff des "rechten Gebrauchs"*, Bâle et Stuttgart, 1984 ; II. *Kultur und Conversion*, Bâle, 1993 ; III. *Die Methode im Spiegel des Fläschertums* (en préparation). Au moment où il quitte sa chaire de philologie classique de l'université de Munster, ses collègues, élèves et amis lui dédient sous le titre et le symbole de la «ruche à miel» (*alvarium*) un recueil groupant outre l'hommage qui s'impose, trente-trois études consacrées à l'ancienne littérature chrétienne. Ces articles concernent principalement le domaine latin, à part ceux de Ulrike GANTZ (Grégoire de Nysse), St. HEID (Sophrone de Jérusalem), H.-G. NESSELRATH (Socrate de Constantinople, Julien, etc.), qui concernent des écrivains grecs, et celui de M. SICHERL, *Verschmolzene Gedichte Gregors von Nazianz*, pp. 313-323, qui traite plus spécialement d'un secteur de l'histoire byzantine. L'éminent spécialiste des Poèmes de Grégoire de Nazianze, dont il prépare l'édition critique majeure, analyse des relations complexes existant entre des centres de copie byzantins. Ses observations précises, relatives à la tradition manuscrite des *Carmina* II 1, 55 ; 51 ; 22 ; 60 ; 89 ; 70 et 69, confirmées par l'examen d'autres pièces, l'ont obligé à réviser les hypothèses stemmatiques proposées dans l'ouvrage de N. Gertz (p. 315, note 11). Par la même occasion, le Prof. Sicherl annonce la publication du résultat des recherches qu'il poursuit activement.

J. MOSSAY

Dr John Covel. Voyages en Turquie 1675-1677. Texte établi, annoté et traduit par J.-P. GRÉLOIS, avec une préface de C. MANGO (*Réalités byzantines*, 6), Paris, Éd. P. Lethielleux, 1998, 437 pages. ISBN 2-283-60456-7.

Le chapelains anglais Dr J. Covel, comme bien d'autres Occidentaux, a entrepris un voyage en Turquie du XVII[e] s. par intérêt aux antiquités. Il a tenu un journal de voyage qui contient une foule de renseignements, mais aussi des croquis de sites, de bâtiments, d'inscriptions, comme des dessins, des cartes dessinés sur place, etc. Il a visité 79 localités dans la région de la Thrace turque, de la Bithynie, de la Troade et de l'Ionie. Il donne des informations d'une grande valeur au sujet de la composition ethnique des agglomérations, de la vie quotidienne, et surtout des restes byzantins, complètement ou partiellement disparus, encore visibles à son époque. Le texte établi est amplement annoté et enrichi par une mise au point bibliographique ; deux index permettent sa consultation aisée.

P. YANNOPOULOS

Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204, éd. par H. MAGUIRE, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1997, X + 264 pages. ISBN 0-88402-242-0.I.

Dans ce volume sont publiés les actes d'un colloque de même titre que la publication, tenu à Dumbarton Oaks, en avril 1994. La période envisagée va pratiquement de la fin de l'iconoclasme à la prise de Constantinople par les Croisés en 1204. Les articles sont répartis en six chapitres intitulés : i) l'espace impérial, ii) les costumes impériaux et les objets du culte impérial, iii) les échanges entre la cour byzantine et les cours étrangères, iv) la cour des intellectuels et la rhétorique, v) la composition sociale de la cour byzantine, vi) l'art à la cour byzantine.

L'article de G. P. MAJESKA, *The Emperor in His Church : Imperial Ritual in the Church of St Sophia* (pp. 1-11) et celui d'A. R. LITTLEWOOD, *Gardens of the Palaces* (pp. 13-38) constituent le premier chapitre. Le titre du premier est déjà assez évocateur : l'église de S.-Sophie à Constantinople était plus un haut lieu du culte impérial qu'une cathédrale. Les couronnements y avaient lieu, et c'est sous sa coupole que l'empereur apparaissait comme le représentant de Dieu sur terre. Le rituel impérial, dans ce cas, avait un caractère hautement symbolique : il préfigurait l'ordre céleste du Royaume des cieux. Le second article exploite les sources tant littéraires qu'iconographiques qui décrivent ou illustrent les annexes du Grand Palais byzantin. On y voit les énormes jardins pleins de lacs, de fontaines, de bassins, de kiosques, d'arbres et de fleurs. Ils entouraient le Palais du côté sud-est et servaient de lieu de promenade et de chasse. Dans le deuxième chapitre, Elisabeth PILTZ, *Middle Byzantine Court Costume* (pp. 39-51), grâce aux informations du *De ceremoniis*, interprète certaines représentations picturales ou sculptées de l'empereur et détermine les accessoires vestimentaires du grand costume cérémonial de l'empereur. Puisque les grands dignitaires avaient le droit d'imiter en partie ce costume, l'A. accorde une notice particulière aux accessoires vestimentaires des hauts dignitaires. Ioli KALAVREZOU, *Helping Hands for the Empire : Imperial Ceremonies and the Cult of Relics at the Byzantine Court* (pp. 53-79), note qu'un nombre impressionnant de reliques se trouvaient à Constantinople. Les sources littéraires font état de reliques gardées dans le Palais et laissaient entendre que l'église de S.-Étienne du Palais réunissait les plus importantes. Parmi elles, la relique de la main de S. Jean Baptiste, saint patron de la dynastie macédonienne, occupait la place d'honneur. Dans le même sens l'étude d'Annemarie WEYL CARR, *Court Culture and Cult Icons in Middle Byzantine Constantinople* (pp. 81-99), met l'accent sur le culte de la Sainte Croix, du Mandylion et de la Sainte Vierge. Une iconographie spécifique fut développée autour de ces trois pôles de vénération byzantine. Pour la S. Vierge en particulier, les représentations de la Vierge Orante, de la Vierge Platytera et de la Vierge Hodégitria seront promues au statut d'icônes impériales. Surtout la Hodégitria, qui sera adoptée aussi comme image monétaire, deviendra le sym-

bole du pouvoir impérial légitime et comme telle sera adoptée aussi par la Russie de Kiev. Pour les échanges internationaux, W. TRONZO, *Byzantine Court Culture from the Point of View of Norman Sicily : The Case of the Cappela Palatina in Palermo* (pp. 101-114), constate que le modèle impérial byzantin a connu du succès auprès des rois normands de Sicile. Les scènes dans la Chapelle Palatine de Monreale indiquent non seulement une influence artistique d'origine byzantine, mais surtout une reprise de la philosophie politique byzantine par les rois normands. Ce même bâtiment indique une certaine influence arabe qui se limite toutefois au seul plan artistique. O. GRABAR, *The Shared Culture of Objects* (pp. 115-129), fait une étude analogue, mais en envisageant les relations entre la Cour byzantine et celle des khalifes. Il analyse pour cela le *Livre des trésors et des cadeaux*, rédigé par un aulique de la Cour des Fatimides vers 1071. Ce document évalue les trésors gardés par les trésoriers des palais de son époque et énumère parfois les objets qui s'y trouvaient. Cela permet de savoir que les empereurs byzantins échangeaient des cadeaux avec les Grands Rois de Perse, avec les empereurs chinois et plus tard avec les khalifes. Des échanges d'une envergure moins importante sont attestés avec les chefs locaux. Le chapitre qui traite de la vie intellectuelle à la Cour est introduit par G. T. DENIS, *Imperial Panegyric : Rhetoric and Reality* (pp. 131-140), qui signale que l'éloge est un genre littéraire connu depuis l'antiquité. Les Byzantins de l'époque envisagée ont excellé dans ce domaine en profitant non seulement du passé classique, mais aussi et surtout de la grandes tradition rhétorique des Pères des l'Église des IV^e^/V^e^ s. Le Βασιλικὸς λόγος deviendra ainsi un genre littéraire bien structuré qui devait respecter certaines règles et exploiter certains lieux communs, et cela indépendamment de la vérité historique. Les flatteries et les exaltations y tenaient une place importante, l'empereur juste et défenseur de la foi devait être mis en vue. Ces panégyriques étaient souvent prononcés lors des fêtes impériales en présence des souverains et des auliques qui étaient là pour écouter ce qui devait être dit à cette occasion et non pas ce qui se passait réellement. L'*ekphrasis*, c'est-à-dire la description de l'empereur, de la Cour et du Palais, était aussi un genre de panégyrique dans lequel ont excellé, selon P. MAGDALINO, *In Search of the Byzantine Courrier : Leo Choirosphaktes and Constantine Manasses* (pp. 141-165), les auteurs byzantins proches du milieu impérial. Deux parmi eux, Léon Choirosphactès (IX^e^-X^e^ s.) et Constantin Manassès (XIII^e^ s.) étaient de vrais professionnels qui, dans une langue fleurie et recherchée, ont fait des descriptions très détaillées, mais peut-être tout aussi fictives. Un des aspects sociaux de la Cour byzantine est éclairé par l'article d'A. P. KAZHDAN et M. MCCORMICK, *The Social World of the Byzantine Court* (pp. 167-197), pour lesquels la Cour byzantine n'avait pas au départ de statut constitutionnel. Cette situation a changé en 996, quand Basile II a législativement réglé la composition sociale de sa Cour. Avant cette date, la Cour était composée de personnes qui occupaient cette place de par leurs mérites. Mais dès le IX^e^ s. apparaissent les

familles nobles, dont les membres vont dans la suite monopoliser fonctions et honneurs. L'ordre social à l'intérieur de la Cour, fixé à la haute époque, tenait compte de la hiérarchisation des fonctions. Au XI^e s., cet ordre ne sera plus que tributaire de l'origine sociale de l'entourage impérial, dont les relations deviendront protocolaires et figées. Cet ordre protocolaire est indiqué par la participation d'une personne dans les processions impériales, les parades, les cérémonies en présence de l'empereur et la place lors des banquets organisés au Palais. N. OIKONOMIDES, *Title and Income at the Byzantine Court* (pp. 199-215), étudie la même réalité sous un angle économique. Il y distingue deux systèmes : l'ancien, qui devient confus au milieu du XI^e s., et le nouveau, celui des Comnènes. Dans l'ancien système, les membres de la Cour touchaient un salaire (*roga*), lié à la fonction qu'ils exerçaient dans l'administration. Sous les Comnènes, le salaire a été remplacé par l'octroi des privilèges fiscaux, comme par ex. la *pronoia*. Cela est peut-être dû au changement dans la relation entre taxation et salaire à la période méso-byzantine. Le dernier chapitre est introduit par l'article de J. TRILING, *Daedalus and the Nightingale : Art and Technology in the Myth of the Byzantine Court* (pp. 217-230), qui signale que nous disposons de peu de représentations de la Cour. Nos connaissances relatives à son fonctionnement sont dues aux descriptions textuelles. Grâce à ces descriptions, l'A. peut mettre en ordre certains détails iconographiques qui illustrent les aspects techniques de la vie au Palais de Constantinople. Les observations de Catherine JOLIVET-LEVY, *Présence et figures du souverain à Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople et à l'église de la Sainte-Croix d'Aghtamar* (pp. 231-246), vont dans le même sens : l'empereur est relativement peu représenté dans l'art byzantin. Toutefois, S.-Sophie de Constantinople fait exception : l'empereur y est couramment représenté en relation avec des scènes religieuses. Un autre cas privilégié est celui de l'église de la S.-Croix en Arménie byzantine, près du lac Van, où l'empereur est représenté sur les reliefs extérieurs, également impliqué dans des scènes bibliques. Malgré les styles différents, l'idéologie reste la même : l'image de l'empereur, par un jeu d'analogies bibliques, vise à exalter son rôle de médiateur entre Dieu et les hommes. La dernière étude celle de H. MAGUIRE, *The Heavenly Court* (pp. 247-258), pour qui les Byzantins ne voyaient dans la Cour impériale qu'un reflet de la Cour divine, comme d'ailleurs l'ordre impérial était censé refléter sur terre l'ordre céleste. Cela explique les nombreuses images rhétoriques mais aussi les représentations artistiques des empereurs entourés de saints personnages en costume aulique, ou l'empereur présenté dans un contexte intemporel et même ailé, comme un ange.

P. YANNOPOULOS

W. CERAN, *Historia i bibliografia rozumowana bizantynologii Polskiej (1800-1998)*, vol. I-II (= *Byzantina Lodziensia*, 6), Lódz, Wydawnictwo Uniwerytetu Lódzkiego, 200, 1786 pages. ISBN 83-7171-474-2.

Un bon instrument de travail qui, après une introduction consacrée aux études byzantines en Pologne, enregistre 4765 ouvrages d'auteurs polonais, concernant les études byzantines. Les études sont rangées suivant l'ordre alphabétique du nom de leurs auteurs. Une courte notice donne un aperçu du contenu de chaque étude. Un index des auteurs est utile seulement pour les coauteurs de certains ouvrages. La difficulté majeure pour consulter ces deux volumes est la langue polonaise peu connue.

P. YANNOPOULOS

Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 52 (1998), vi + 342 pages. ISSN 0070-7546.

Une partie de ce vol. contient les actes du colloque *Women's Space*, au sujet duquel aucune information n'est donnée. C'est A. P. KAZHDAN, *Women at Home* (pp. 1-17), qui présente la femme byzantine, son rôle dans la maison, sa place dans la société et ses activités. Toutefois, comme le note l'A., il faut être attentif, car les sources byzantines contiennent des lieux communs du type : la jeune et belle femme inactive est l'organe du péché. La femme byzantine était un élément productif dans le cadre de l'économie domestique des villes, et en province elle travaillait aux champs. R. F. TAFT, *Women at Church in Byzantium : Were, When- and Why?* (pp. 27-87), après une belle analyse, constate que les femmes occupaient une place à part dans l'espace liturgique byzantin. Cette pratique n'avait aucune base canonique ; elle résultait d'une attitude coutumière. L'espace réservé aux femmes était, selon les époques, des galeries à l'étage, ou une nef latérale ou même une partie de la nef centrale. S. E. J. GERSTEL, *Painted Sources for Female Piety in Medieval Byzantium* (pp. 89-111), après avoir étudié un grand nombre de cas, constate que les portraits des saintes sont présents non seulement dans les églises byzantines des grandes villes, mais aussi dans celles des petits centres urbains et des villages. Seules les églises monastiques pour hommes font exception. Toutefois, les saintes sont habituellement représentées aux endroits moins importants de l'église (narthex, galeries, etc.). En outre, elles sont moins majestueuses que leurs homologues masculins, couramment représentés avec leurs costumes spécifiques (évêques, médecins, militaires, etc.) ou insignes de leur rang social (fonctionnaires, auliques, sénateurs, etc.). Alice-Mary TALBOT, *Women's Space in Byzantine Monasteries* (pp. 113-127), signale que les moines byzantins gardaient des contacts avec le monde extérieur et avec des femmes, qui n'étaient pas seulement des membres de leurs familles. En outre, il semble que des moniales rendaient visite à leurs homologues masculins, puisque les *typika* mettent en garde les unes comme les autres contre les péchés que de telles rencontres pouvaient générer. La dernière étude concernant l'espace féminin est celle de Joëlle BEAUCAMP, *Les femmes et l'espace public à Byzance : Le cas des tribunaux* (pp. 129-145), pour qui le rôle des femmes en justice était limité. Toutefois, les veuves assumaient un rôle judiciaire plus actif, réalité qui indique non pas une limitation législative, mais sociale. L'A. émet des doutes quant à

l'applicabilité des dispositions de Léon VI interdisant les témoignages féminins en justice ; au XIV^e^ s. au moins, cette interdiction n'était pas appliquée.

La seconde partie du volume est introduite par l'étude de Rochelle SNEE, *Gregory Nazianzen's Anastasia Church : Arianism, the Goths, and Hagiography* (pp. 157-186), qui verse le témoigne hagiographique au dossier du rôle des Goths dans les affaires de l'empire romain d'Orient durant la seconde moitié du V^e^ s. La situation déjà peu nette est encore compliquée par le témoignage de la *Vie de S. Marcien*, selon laquelle les chefs des Goths, malgré leur arianisme, ont fait une donation à l'église de S.-Anastasie, réputée être, depuis l'époque de Grégoire de Nazianze, le symbole de l'anti-arianisme. Pour l'A., cette donation a peut-être été inventée pour des raisons de propagande. A. ALEXAKIS, *The Dialogue of the Monk and Recluse Moschos concerning the Holy Icons, A Early Iconophile Text* (pp. 187-224), édite un nouveau texte avec une traduction anglaise : le *Dialogue de Moschos au sujet des saintes icônes* ; sa formation semble remonter au milieu du V^e^ s. et doit être mise en relation avec l'iconophobie de certaines sectes, comme par ex. celle des Sabbatiens. Les participants au VII^e^ concile oecuménique semblent ignorer ce texte, qui fut utilisé toutefois par les iconophiles lors du lancement du second iconoclasme, en 815. M. ANGOLD, *The Autobiographical Impulse in Byzantium* (pp. 223-257), note que l'autobiographie était au départ un genre littéraire peu fréquent à Byzance. Les premières autobiographies remontent au XI^e^ s. et se présentent sous la forme de *typika*, de mémoires ou de traités.

La partie archéologique du volume comporte trois études. Celle de Carolline J. DOWNING, *Wall paintings from the Baptistery at Stobi, Macedonia, and Early depictions of Christ and the evangelists* (pp. 259-280) résulte des fouilles effectuées en 1971 à Stobi, qui ont dégagé un baptistère du IV^e^ s. avec des peintures typiques de l'époque. L'article de Svetlana POPOVIC, *The Trapeza in Cenobitic Monasteries : Architectural and Spiritual Contexts* (pp. 281-303), est thématique : il a pour objet les réfectoires des monastères cénobitiques, qui perpétuent dans le monde monastique les agapes paléochrétiennes. Pour en établir une typologie architecturale et picturale, l'A. passe en revue les exemples égyptiens et syropalestiniens, puis ceux de l'Asie Mineure et des régions caucasiennes (Arménie, Géorgie), avant d'en venir aux exemples d'origine constantinopolitaine, puis grecque et enfin serbe et bulgare. Il s'agit d'espaces rectangulaires destinés à la table commune et rarement à d'autres activités (veillées, commémorations, etc.). Le programme iconographique tourne autour de l'incarnation. Le titre de l'article de J. C. ANDERSON, *Further Prolegomena to a Study of the Pantocrator Psalter : An Unpublished Miniature, Some Restored Losses, and Observations on the Relationship with the Chludov Psalter and Paris Fragment* (pp. 305-321), est assez évocateur : il s'agit d'une miniature du jugement dernier contenue dans le palimpseste *Pantocrator cod.* 60 du IX^e^ s. A la fin du vol., C. S. LIGHTFOOT présente les résultats des fouilles effectuées par lui et son équipe à

Amorion en 1996 (*The Amorium Projet : The 1996 Excavation Season*, pp. 323-336).

P. YANNOPOULOS

R. Y. EBIED, A. VAN ROEY et L. R. WICKHAM, *Petri Callinicensis Patriarchae Antiocheni, Tractatus contra Damianum* (= *Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca*, 35), Turnhout, Brepols et Leuven, University Press, 1998, XLVI + 553 pages.

Ce III[e] vol. de l'édition du texte syriaque du *Contra Damianum* du patriarche Pierre d'Antioche contient les ch. XX à XXXIV du IV[e] livre du traité. Tout ce qui concerne l'auteur, les circonstances historiques et le contexte de cette rédaction est exposé dans le I[er] vol. de l'édition. De même, les problèmes relatifs à la transmission du texte ont fait l'objet de remarques contenues dans les vol. I et II. Dans ce volume-ci on trouve seulement un appendice concernant les manuscrits qui ne transmettent que les chapitres édités, ainsi que les florilèges qui puisent dans ces chapitres. Suit l'analyse du contenu des chapitres, et l'édition avec une traduction anglaise. Un appendice à la p. 533 contient des *addenda* et *corrigenda* au vol. I et II, tandis que les trois index qui suivent se réfèrent seulement à ce volume.

P. YANNOPOULOS

Εκκλησιαστικός Φάρος, 80 (New Series, 9) (1998), VI + 254 pages ; 81 (New Series, 10) (1999), VII + 200 pages. ISSN 1018-9556.

Dans le n° 80 de cette revue, deux articles présentent de l'intérêt pour les études byzantines. Celui de B. HENDRICKX, *The Ethiopian Basileis and Nubian Basiliskoi* (pp. 179-185), qui étudie les structures sociales et politiques de la Nubie et de l'Éthiopie entre le I[er] et le VI[e] s., et celui de D. KASSAPIDIS, *Συμβολή στην ιστορία της εγκατάστασης των Δομινικανών στον ελληνικό χώρο : Η περίπτωση της Χίου* (pp. 223-252), qui retrace l'histoire des Dominicains sur l'île de Chio. Il signale que les Dominicains s'étaient installés en 1225 sur des territoires appartenant jadis à l'empire byzantin, et surtout dans les colonies de Gênes en Orient.

Dans le n° 81, signalons un article de B. HENDRICKX, au titre évocateur : *Africano-byzantina : Notes on Methodology and Sources for "Black" Africa* (pp. 115-126), dont l'intérêt essentiel consiste au regroupement de sources byzantines qui traitent de l'Afrique.

P. YANNOPOULOS

Ἐκκλησίες στὴν Ἑλλάδα μετὰ τὴν Ἅλωση, 1453-1850, vol. V, éd. Ch. BOURAS, Athènes, Πανεπιστημιακὲς Ἐκδόσεις EMP, 1998, 288 pages. ISBN 960-254-529-1.

Ce beau volume est composé d'une série de 20 articles, dont 17 traitent d'églises situées dans le territoire grec, tandis que les trois autres sont thématiques (la décoration des églises post-byzantines, les restaurations intervenues au cours du XIX^e^ s., le plan architectural des églises avec transept). Toutes ces constructions ont un point en commun : elles sont toutes postérieures à 1453. Elles présentent un intérêt particulier pour l'étude de la survivance de la tradition architecturale byzantine, mais d'autre part, étant post-byzantines, elles ne tombent pas dans le domaine de cette revue.

P. YANNOPOULOS

J. M. FEATHERSTONE, *Nicephori Patriarchae Constantinopolitani, Refutatio et eversio definitionis synodalis anni 815 (Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca*, 33), Turnhout, Brepols, et Leuven, University Press, 1997, XXXIV + 381 pages. ISBN 2-503-40331-X (relié) ; 2-503-40332-8 (broché).

Léon V a relancé l'iconoclasme en 815. Parmi les victimes de sa politique figure le patriarche Nicéphore, banni pour ne pas accepter les décisions du concile iconoclaste de 815. Après l'assassinat de Léon par Michel II, le jour de Noël 820, Nicéphore a rédigé une *Réfutation* contre les décisions du concile de 815. Ce texte, pratiquement inédit, est transmis par deux manuscrits : le *Coislin.* 93 de X^e^/XI^e^ s. et le *Paris. Gr.* 1250, du XIV^e^ s. L'édition critique, sans traduction, assortie de nombreux index, met à la disposition des chercheurs un texte sans doute polémique, mais indispensable pour la connaissance des positions théoriques lors du conflit iconoclaste.

P. YANNOPOULOS

A. GARZYA et D. ROQUES, *Synésios de Cyrène*, t. II : *Correspondance, Lettres I-LXIII* ; t. III : *Lettres LXIV-CLVI (Collection des Universités de France)* Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 2000, CXLVII + 484 pages. ISSN 0184-7155. ISBN 2-251-00479-3.

Si les manuels de patrologie considèrent Synésios de Cyrène comme un auteur mineur en raison de son peu d'intérêt théologique (il a même mis comme condition à son élection épiscopale le droit de conserver ses opinions philosophiques sur l'éternité de la création, sur la préexistence des âmes et sur le caractère allégorique de la résurrection de la chair [*ep.* 105]), sa correspondance (*CPG* 5640) représente un document historique de première importance sur le destin de la Cyrénaïque aux IV^e^-V^e^ siècles. Composé, dans son état actuel de 156 lettres datables de 395 environ à 413, ce corpus est l'œuvre d'un enfant du pays, épris de philosophie néo-platonicienne, disciple d'Hypatie, qui aida les provinciaux de la Pentapole à lutter contre les invasions barbares, avant de devenir, en 412, évêque de Cyrène et métropolite de Libye Supérieure, ministère qu'il semble avoir exercé pendant un an seulement. L'importance de la tradition manuscrite

(261 mss) témoigne que la correspondance de Synésios a constitué l'un des «best sellers» des époques byzantine et post-byzantine. La présente édition se donne comme une *editio minor* (révisée et ça et là corrigée) par rapport à celle qu'A. Garzya a publiée à Rome en 1979. L'ample Introduction qui ouvre le premier vol. donne un aperçu du recueil épistolaire de Synésios, détermine la chronologie des lettres, en montre l'intérêt historique, littéraire, psychologique, moral, philosophique et religieux. La traduction est accompagnée d'importantes Notes complémentaires, rejetées à la fin de chaque volume, dans lesquelles D. Roques reprend la matière de son *Synésios de Cyrène et la Cyrénaïque du Bas-Empire* (Paris, 1987) et de ses *Études sur la correspondance de Synésios de Cyrène* (Bruxelles, 1989). Voici donc rendue accessible au public francophone l'œuvre la plus intéressante de celui qu'on a appelé «le philosophe mitré».

J.-M. AUWERS

M. ILLERT, *Johannes Chrysostomus und das antiochenisch-syrische Mönchtum. Studien zu Theologie, Rhetorik und Kirchenpolitik im antiochenischen Schrifttum des Johannes Chrysostomus*, Zürich, Pano Verlag, 2000, VIII + 118 pages. ISBN 3-907576-31-4.

Pallade, premier biographe de saint Jean Chrysostome, raconte que celui-ci, après son baptême, «se retira dans une caverne solitaire, poussé par un ardent désir de se cacher du monde, et y passa vingt-quatre mois, pendant la plus grande partie desquels il s'interdisait le sommeil, étudiant les lois du Christ, les meilleures études pour dissiper l'ignorance. Ces deux années passées sans se coucher de nuit ni de jour démolirent son appareil digestif, et les fonctions de ses reins furent altérées par le froid. Ne pouvant se soigner lui-même, il revint au havre de l'Église» (*Dialogue sur la vie de Jean Chrysostome*, 5). Jean Chrysostome était donc bien placé pour parler, de l'intérieur, de la vie monastique. Le présent ouvrage, qui fut présenté comme dissertation doctorale à Kiel, offre une synthèse sur le sujet. L'A. pose d'abord le problème de la datation d'œuvres comme le livre I de l'*Ad Theodorum lapsum* (*CPG* 4305) ou le *De sacerdotio* (*CPG* 4317), puis il situe la prédication de Jean dans son contexte. La suite de l'ouvrage s'emploie à dégager le contenu du discours chrysostomien sur la vie monastique, à montrer la place que Jean lui assigne dans sa vision de la politique ecclésiastique, à préciser la théologie antiochienne de l'ascèse et à réévaluer les aspects ascétiques de la vie du jeune Jean Chrysostome.

J.-M. AUWERS

Κληρονομία, 27 (1995), 381 pages ; 28 (1996), 399 pages. ISSN 1105-2139.

Parmi les article du vol. 27, quatre intéressent les études byzantines. N. KROUSSOLOUDIS, *Ἡ ἵδρυση τῆς Λατινικῆς Ἐπισκοπῆς Χίου καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι γνωστοὶ ἐπίσκοποί της* (pp. 169-188), note que l'évêché latin de l'île de Chio

remonte aux croisés, mais après le 9 mars 1222, pour être supprimé après la reconquête de île par Jean III. Le Génois Zaccaria restaura l'évêché au XIV^e^ s. De cette seconde occupation italienne, nous connaissons les premiers évêques romains de l'île. Pour E. LITSAS, *Συμβολὴ στὴ σύνταξη ἑνὸς νέου ρεπερτορίου τῶν βιβλιοθηκῶν καὶ τῶν καταλόγων τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν χειρογράφων* (pp. 189-200), avant d'avancer dans le nouveau catalogue des manuscrits grecs élaboré à Athènes par Mme Aikaterini Korouli et le nouveau répertoire des manuscrits grecs à Paris par J.-M. Olivier, il faut tenir compte de difficultés que rencontre l'utilisateur du répertoire de M. Richard. L'A. fait des propositions concrètes et donne en outre des informations supplémentaires sur certains centres ou bibliothèques de Grèce, qui conservent des manuscrits, et qui sont ignorés par Richard. V. ISTAVRIDIS, *Orthodox Theological Education, Past and Present - the Ecumenical Patriarchate* (pp. 281-301), passe sommairement en revue la contribution des écoles d'Antioche, d'Alexandrie et de l'École patriarcale de Constantinople à la formation théologique du monde orthodoxe. La partie la plus intéressante de son article est la bibliographie très largement dépouillée. Finalement Bassiliki FRANGESKOU, *Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου ἐπιστολὴ 79 καὶ ἡ ταυτότητα τοῦ ἐπαινουμένου σ' αὐτὴν προσώπου* (pp. 303-308), concerne la Lettre 79 de Grégoire le Théologien, adressée à une certaine Simplicia, et faisant état de l'ordination illégale d'un esclave par Grégoire lui-même, assisté par un autre évêque. Les Mauristes ont identifié cet autre évêque avec S. Basile, mais M.-M. Hauser-Meury et P. Gallay y voient plutôt Grégoire l'Ancien, père du Théologien. L'A. apporte des preuves supplémentaires en faveur de cette seconde identification.

Le vol. 28 est divisé en deux parties. La première est dédiée à Grégoire Palamas, à l'occasion de son 700ème anniversaire. Th. GIAGOS, *Μαρτυρίες περὶ τῆς μνήμης τοῦ Ἁγίου Γρηγορίου Παλαμᾶ στὸ Ἅγιο Ὄρος* (pp. 3-39), pense que Palamas fut vite canonisé, car on dispose des éloges prononcés en son honneur, des icônes avec sa figure, et même deux dates de commémoration de sa mort. Or, l'absence d'une *acolouthie* spécifique de livres liturgiques crée des doutes quant à l'ampleur de son acceptation comme saint. Despo LIALOU, *Ὁ ἁγιορειτικὸς τόμος - Ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶς ἡσυχαζόντων* (pp. 31-54), est d'avis que le texte mal daté qui porte le titre de *Tome athonite* est une oeuvre de Palamas au sujet de l'hésychasme, car le style et le contenu font penser à cet auteur. B. PSEUTOGAS, *Γνωσιολογικὰ καὶ μεθοδολογικὰ ἀντιφερόμενα στὴν Παλαμικὴ καὶ ἀντιπαλαμικὴ θεολογικὴ γνωσιολογία* (pp. 55-83), après une analyse de la théologie hésychaste et antihésychaste, constate que le point central de l'opposition se situe au niveau de la perception du divin. Pour Palamas, la perception du monde ne peut pas conduire à la perception de Dieu, car l'énergie ne mène pas à la compréhension de la substance. Dieu est perçu seulement par la voie mystique. Par contre, la théologie de ses opposants, et celle des occidentaux, considérait que la connaissance du monde peut, par la voie rationnelle et empirique,

conduire à la connaissance de Dieu. Pour Ch. VENIAMIN, *Divinae consortes naturae : Notes on the Centrality of the Taborian Theophany in Saint Gregory Palamas* (pp. 85-103), la théophanie du Thabor n'est pas une apparition de la Trinité, ni même de la substance divine, mais une manifestation de son énergie. La divinité trinitaire n'est abordable que par le mystère de l'incarnation.

Parmi les autres articles, celui de P. ANTONIADOU, *Ἱερὰ Μητρόπολις Φλωρίνης, Πρεσπῶν καὶ Ἐορδαίας* (pp. 107-143), retrace l'histoire de l'évêché de Florina, au N.-O. de la Grèce. Au départ, la région faisait partie de la métropole d'Héraclée en Pelagonie, dont la fondation doit être placée entre 325 et 343. Après la destruction de cette ville par les Avaroslaves, au VI[e] s., le centre administratif et ecclésiastique de la région se déplaça vers Vitola. Durant la domination bulgare, la région forma l'évêché de Prespes, qui dépendait de l'archevêché d'Ochrid. Sous les Comnènes, la région fut attachée à l'évêché de Mogléna, d'où se détacha, en 1924, l'évêché de Florina. S. VASSIS, *Εἰκόνα τῆς Ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης μὲ σκηνὲς τοῦ βίου της ἀπὸ τὴν Ἱ. Μονὴ Κουτλουμουσίου τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους* (pp. 145-185), analyse une icône de Ste Catherine, conservée dans le monastère de Koutloumous au Mont Athos. L'icône paraît être du XVII[e] s. Son intérêt réside dans le fait qu'elle copie un modèle sinaïtique du XIII[e] s. E. LAMBRINIADIS, *Die Brüder Ioannis und Nicolaos Messaritis Verteidiger der Orthodoxie* (pp. 187-236), étudie la théologie des frères Jean et Nicolas Messaritès, qui au XIII[e] s. ont défendu (surtout Nicolas) l'orthodoxie contre les Latins. L'A. insiste sur le rôle que les deux frères ont joué entre les années 1204 et 1214, lors de multiples tentatives d'aboutir à l'union des Églises.

P. YANNOPOULOS

J. KODER, *Aigaion Pelagos (Die Nördliche Ägäis)* (= *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, 10), Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1998, 351 pages + 62 planches hors texte + 4 cartes hors texte + une carte détachée. ISBN 3-7001-2694-8.

Ce volume de la *TIB* suit les règles générales qui régissent toute la série, aussi bien pour la présentation matérielle que pour la méthodologie. Ainsi, les 44 premières pages sont consacrées à la reprise de ces règles et à la liste des abréviations. L'objet de ce volume est constitué des îles du Nord de la Mer Égée, c'est-à-dire l'ensemble insulaire appelé parfois Égéïs, mais dont l'étendue n'est pas pour tous les chercheurs la même, raison qui oblige l'A. de spécifier qu'il s'agit des îles de Skyros, de Thassos, le Lemnos, de Samothrace, d'Imbros, de Ténédos, de Chio et de Lesbos, sans compter les petites îles qui entourent les plus grandes. Après la topographie et les conditions climatiques, vient, comme dans tous les volumes de la *TIB*, un rapide exposé historique qui va jusqu'au VI[e] s. ; la période suivante, qui va jusqu'au XI[e] s., est plus explicitement présentée, car elle correspond à celle du système thématique, sur lequel est fondée la répartition de la matière de la *TIB* en volumes. Certes, toutes les informations rappor-

tées par les sources pour la période sont mentionnées, mais les conclusions n'ont rien d'original : l'A. adopte la théorie déjà ancienne de l'identité entre l'obscur stratège de *karavissiani* et le thème de la Mer Égée, dont d'ailleurs peu de choses sont certaines. Le thème initial couvrait la totalité de la Mer Égée, d'où ont été détachés les thèmes des Cyclades, de Samos et d'autres. Le chapitre historique est complété par l'analyse des événements qui ont marqué la région à partir du XII[e] s. jusqu'à l'occupation ottomane.

Du point de vue ecclésiastique, la Mer Égée du Nord constituait une éparchie, et le sud en formait une autre. Certaines îles proches de la Grèce continentale faisaient partie de l'éparchie de l'Hellade. Plus tard, les grands évêchés seront promus au rang de métropoles et les plus petits deviendront autocéphales. Après 1204, plusieurs îles resteront sous domination occidentale. Une partie de la population passera au catholicisme, réalité qui explique la présence jusqu'aux temps modernes d'une église romaine à côté de l'orthodoxe. La dernière note de cette partie introductive concerne l'économie de la région et les produits typiques. Une étude des ports, du système routier, des installations commerciales et de l'activité navale complète cette note. Les sources sont particulièrement parcimonieuses en informations concernant l'histoire sociale et humaine de la région. Peu d'agglomérations sont signalées et encore moins méritent l'appellation de ville. Sur certaines petites îles, il n'y avait d'ailleurs qu'un village. Des fondations pieuses sont rarement mentionnées, et cela en dépit du nombre impressionnant de constructions ecclésiastiques d'origine byzantine encore visibles. Suivent les lemmes dans un ordre alphabétique et les index. Les planches ne sont qu'indicatives, tandis que les cartes détaillées, un des grands avantages de la série, complètent ce volume.

P. YANNOPOULOS

I. KRATCHKOVSKY, *Histoire de Yahyâ Ibn Sa'îd d'Antioche. Édition critique du texte arabe*. Trad. française annotée par Françoise MICHEAU et G. TROUPEAU (*Pontificio Istituto Orientale. Roma. Patrologia Orientalis*, 47, Fascicule 4, n° 212), Turnhout, Brepols, 1997, pp. 370- 559.

Yahyâ, un Arabe chrétien vivant au XI[e] s., est l'auteur d'une importante chronique qui va de 326/937-938 à 425/1033-1034, qui à son tour est la continuation de la chronique du patriarche d'Alexandrie Sa'îd ibn al-Bitrîq. Dans l'Introduction de ce volume (due à Françoise MICHEAU et à G. TROUPEAU) les problèmes relatifs aux sources de cette chronique, à la date de sa composition et à la transmission du texte, assurée par six manuscrits sont passés en revue. La traduction française rend accessible ce texte intéressant pour l'histoire des relations byzantino-arabes au cours des X[e] et XI[e] s. Les deux index (un de noms propres et un de noms communs et de noms de lieux) sont d'une grande utilité pour la consultation du volume.

P. YANNOPOULOS

J.-C. LARCHET et E. PONSOYE, *Saint Maxime le Confesseur, Questions et difficultés (Quaestiones et dubia) (Sagesses chrétiennes)*, Paris, Cerf, 1999, 191 pages. ISSN 1140-2865 ; ISBN 2-204-06198-0.

Traduction française sur l'édition critique de H. Declerck, des *Questions et difficultés* de Maxime le Confesseur. Il s'agit du plus ancien de trois fascicules des "Questions" de Maxime, rédigé vers 626 ; il est suivi de Questions à Jean (vers 628-630) et de Questions à Thalassius (vers 630-633). Maxime a écrit ce texte lors de son séjour au monastère de S.-Georges en Cyzique. Il est transmis par un seul manuscrit, le *Vat. Gr.* 1703 du X^e^ s., qui a peut-être transmis un texte mutilé. Il s'agit d'une collection de questions sans sujet commun, puisqu'elles ont un contenu exégétique, liturgique, dogmatique, philosophique et pratique.

P. YANNOPOULOS

Suzanne MACALISTER, *Dreams and Suicides. The Greek Novel from Antiquity to the Byzantine Empire*, Londres et N. York, Routledge, 1996, 233 pages. ISBN 0-415-07005-8.

Ce volume présente une analyse diachronique des thèmes du rêve et du suicide dans les mentalités et dans la littérature grecques depuis le roman hellénistique jusqu'au roman byzantin du XII^e^ s. L'A. fait deux démarches introductives : elle définit le schéma typique du roman avant d'arriver aux réflexions sur les relations entre l'imaginaire littéraire et la réalité socioculturelle qui l'a engendré. Le roman, tant antique que médiéval, décrit l'amour de deux jeunes personnes, d'origine noble, qui après une série de péripéties et de vicissitudes et après avoir oscillé à plusieurs reprises entre l'espoir et le désespoir, arrivent, grâce à une révélation onirique, soit au bonheur soit au suicide. La pérennité de ce schéma ne signifie pas nécessairement une diachronie socioculturelle depuis l'époque hellénistique jusqu'au XII^e^ s. byzantin, mais plutôt une récupération par les Byzantins du modèle littéraire hellénistique, et cela en dépit de la distance culturelle et chronologique entre les deux mondes. Après ces explications, l'A. passe à l'étude des pièces de romans hellénistiques et ensuite byzantins qui sont arrivés jusqu'à nos jours. Les conclusions en sont simples : les Byzantins n'ont fait que reprendre un genre littéraire sans innover dans aucun domaine, même pas dans celui de la langue. Cela explique le caractère intemporel du roman byzantin, qui n'a pratiquement aucune référence à la vie historique de son époque.

P. YANNOPOULOS

A. MARKOPOULOS, *Anonymi Professoris Epistulae (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, 37) Berlin et N. York, Walter De Gruyter, 2000, ix + 165 pages + 2 planches hors texte. ISBN 3-11-015611-3.

Le manuscrit *Additional* 36749 de la British Library, transmet 122 lettres d'un enseignant byzantin anonyme, qui ont déjà fait l'objet d'éditions partielles ou

complètes et qui sont étudiées surtout par les spécialistes de l'éducation et de l'enseignement à Byzance. Ici, l'A. du volume donne une nouvelle édition critique et complète, précédée d'une traduction allemande des lettres. Dans la partie introductive, intitulée "L'auteur et son oeuvre" sont réunis abord tous les indices internes, déjà repérés par d'autres chercheurs, au sujet de ce professeur qui a vécu au x^e^ s. Grâce aux noms de ses destinataires, il y a moyen de situer son activité en 917 au plus tôt et en 945 au plus tard. Les lettres donnent des informations concernant le milieu scolaire byzantin, mentionnent certains collègues du rédacteur, font état de méthodes d'enseignement, de livres scolaires, etc. Tous ces détails historiques sont tirés au clair par l'A. Par contre, l'analyse philologique et littéraire des lettres fait plutôt défaut. Des index bien conçus et correctement réalisés permettent une consultation facile des textes.

P. YANNOPOULOS

Wendy MAYER et Pauline ALLEN, *John Chrysostom* (*The Early Church Fathers*), London et New York, Routledge, 2000, ix + 230 pages. ISBN 0-415-18252-2 (hbk) ; 0-415-18253-0 (pbk).

Comme les volumes précédemment parus de la collection *The Early Church Fathers* (Maxime le Confeseur, Irénée, Ambroise, Origène), celui-ci entend offrir, dans une traduction accessible, des textes majeurs d'un grand Père de l'Église. L'Introduction dresse, en une cinquantaine de pages, un tableau vivant de la vie de Jean Chrysostome et de son activité de prédicateur et de pasteur. Sont ensuite traduits : la 11^e^ homélie *Sur l'Épître aux Éphésiens* (*CPG* 4431) ; la 7^e^ homélie *Sur l'Épître aux Colossiens* (*CPG* 4433) ; la 1^ère^, la 7^e^ et la 10^e^ des «nouvelles homélies» (*CPG* 4441) ; l'homélie *Sur les martyrs* (*CPG* 4359 = *BHG* 1187) ; l'homélie *De regressu* (*CPG* 4394) ; la 17^e^ homélie *Sur les statues* (*CPG* 4330) ; la 8^e^ *Catéchèse baptismale* (*CPG* 4472) ; l'homélie *Sur Eutrope* (*CPG* 4392) ; l'homélie *In faciem ei resisti* (*CPG* 4391 = *BHG* 1488d) ; le 1^er^ discours *Contre les Juifs* (*CPG* 4327) ; la 21^e^ homélie *Sur la première Épître aux Corinthiens* (*CPG* 4428) ; la 3^e^ homélie *Sur les Actes des Apôtres* (*CPG* 4426) ; l'homélie *Sur le bienheureux Philogonios* (*CPG* 4319 = *BHG* 1532) et quelques extraits des *Lettres d'exil* datées des années 404-407. Chaque texte est présenté et annoté. Une bibliographie succincte achève l'ouvrage. On saura gré aux traducteurs d'avoir rassemblé ici quelques-unes des perles de la prédication chrysostomienne.

J.-M. AUWERS

Anna MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving AD 400 to AD 1200*, éd. par E. KISLINGER et J. KODER, Vienne, Verlag Fassbaender, 1997, xxviii + 260 pages + 128 planches hors texte. ISBN 3-900538-50-6.

Ce volume, richement illustré, comporte, après les éléments introductifs (préface, bibliographie, etc.) une première partie qui a pour objet la culture de la soie,

sa fabrication, sa teinture et son ornementation. C'est après que vient la partie qui intéresse les études byzantines, précédée d'une introduction spécifique au sujet de la soie byzantine, dans laquelle sont groupées les informations données par les sources textuelles, mais aussi par les pièces conservées. Parmi ces pièces, celles qui sont datables revêtent un intérêt particulier, comme par ex. les tissus décorés de lions et d'éléphants du IX^e^ au XI^e^ s., destinés à l'exportation. Ceux qui portent comme décoration des aigles vont du X^e^ au XII^e^ s., tandis que ceux qu'on appellent appelés "alexandrins", aux scènes narratives, sont plus anciens (VIII^e^-IX^e^ s.). Moins faciles à dater, d'autres petits groupes de tissus d'origine byzantines ont une décoration striée assez délicate. Finalement, les tissus monochromes, tous produits entre le X^e^ et le XII^e^ s., sont examinés. Suit l'étude d'un certain nombre de pièces asiatiques, qui indiquent une influence de la technique et de la décoration byzantines, ainsi que l'étude d'un tapis byzantin en soie conservé à Maestricht et pour lequel sont proposées des dates allant du X^e^ au XI^e^ s. Un autre groupe important de tissus est celui des pièces de fabrication "damascène" ; elles portent une ornementation géométrique et sont connues depuis le IV^e^ s. Un dernier chapitre est consacré à la culture de la soie en Italie byzantine, via laquelle la culture est passée en Europe. Le grand consommateur de tissus byzantins en soie restait l'Occident. La partie suivante du livre est donc consacrée à l'usage des ces tissus en Europe occidentale, usage surtout ecclésiastique. La dernière partie du livre est composée de quatre appendices : un concernant les types de tissus, un autre reprenant les endroits où sont conservés des tissus byzantins en soie, un troisième est en réalité un catalogue des tissus inventoriés et un quatrième reprend les tissus non inventoriés.

Ce livre est une véritable trésor pour l'étude des tissus byzantins en soie, et constitute un instrument de travail d'une valeur inestimable.

P. YANNOPOULOS

Vana NIKOLAÏDOU-KYRIANIDOU, *Ο απόβλητος και ο θεοπρόβλητος. Πολιτική ανάγνωση της Ακολουθίας του σπανού*, Athènes, Αλεξάνδρεια, 1999, 425 pages. ISBN 960-221-166-0.

Ce livre va beaucoup plus loin que son titre et son sous-titre le laissent penser. Il s'agit en réalité d'une étude du système politique à Byzance, plus précisément du système impérial. L'A. signale que la messe consacrée à "l'imberbe monstrueux" ne reproduit pas seulement les règles originaires du réalisme grotesque ; elle devient vraiment un commentaire par opposition à ce qu'un byzantin attendait de la part du lieutenant de Dieu sur terre, c'est-à-dire du *basileus*. Tenant compte des "hiérarchisations" de Denys l'Aréopagite et des "théories des miroirs" remontant notamment à Platon, l'A. voit le terrible et terrifiant imberbe comme l'image renversée du *basileus*. Ce dernier représente l'image la plus proche de Dieu et c'est justement cette similitude exacte qui est la source de son pouvoir.

L'écrivain expose en outre de manière analytique tous les traits prêtés au basileus qui s'inversent dans le cas de l'imberbe. Sa messe, elle aussi, fonctionne comme un *Fürstenspiegel* renversé. L'empereur constitue donc le modèle, tandis que l'imberbe est un anti-modèle ou simplement l'Autre. Vu ainsi, ce dernier se transforme en une présence qui menace autant les fondements que les représentations symboliques du pouvoir impérial. Finalement l'imberbe incarne tous les éléments qui s'opposent à l'ordre établi du monde et de la société ; pour cela il est chassé et rejeté.

Zoé ANTONOPOULOU-TRECHLI

P. G. NIKOLOPOULOS, *Ἰωάννου Δαμασκηνοῦ(;), Περὶ τῶν ἐν πίστει κεκοιμημένων. Μετάφρασις εἰς τὴν κυπριακὴν διάλεκτον. Εἰσαγωγή, Ἔκδοσις, Πίνακες λεξικολογικοί*, Nicosie, 2000 (*Publications du Centre de la recherche scientifique*, 28), 155 pages, avec 8 facsimilés de feuillets manuscrits. ISBN 9963-0-8058-8.

Le professeur Nikolopoulos a découvert dans le ms. *Vatican. Gr.* 1171, de 27 feuillets, qu'il date de la dernière décennie du XVI^e^ s., une traduction en dialecte chypriote de l'homélie *Sur les défunts décédés dans la foi*, dont l'attribution à Jean Damascène est controversée (d'où le point d'interrogation entre parenthèses dans le titre, cf. *C. P. G.*, 3, p. 530, n° 8112). L'édition du texte du ms., témoin unique de la version chypriote, est introduite par une étude paléographique savante et détaillée. Le texte est imprimé en regard de celui qu'on attribue à Jean Damascène (*PG* 95, col. 247-278, d'après l'éd. de Vienne, 1531) et l'ouvrage est complété par une analyse linguistique fondée sur le texte édité, sur celui de Jean Damascène et sur le lexique du grec byzantin de E. Kriaras.

J. MOSSAY

C. PAPAÏOANNOU, *Εκκλησίες και Μοναστήρια της Σάμου*, Athènes, Πνευματικό Ἵδρυμα Σάμου "Νικόλαος Δημητρίου", 1997, 244 pages avec illustrations. ISBN 960-85305-9-8.

L'histoire médiévale de l'île de Samos est clairement divisées en deux parties, celle qui précède son abandon par la population en 1476 et celle qui suit son repeuplement en 1562. Au moins cinq églises connues sont construites avant le XV^e^ s. Parmi elles, celle qui est dédiée à la S. Vierge dans le village de Potami, est la plus importante et la mieux conservée. Il s'agit d'une église à coupole dont la construction remonte au XI^e^ s. Les autres (S. Nicolas de Potami, S. Georges de Drakaioi, S. Vierge de Callithea et S. Georges de Messaios) sont de modestes constructions à une seule nef, situées actuellement, comme dans le passé, en dehors d'agglomérations sans importance artistique ou autre. L'une de celles-ci (S. Nicolas de Potami) est à l'état de ruine ; les autres ont subi des restaurations qui ont parfois complètement altéré leur aspect primitif.

P. YANNOPOULOS

Leena Mari PELTOMAA, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn (The Medieval Mediterranean Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1453*, 35), Leiden, Boston, Köln, Brill, 2001, xiii + 242 pages. ISSN 0928-5520 ; ISBN 90-04-12088-2.

Ce livre, qui ne manque pas d'originalité, constitue une approche nouvelle de l'Hymne Acathiste, dont l'A. donne déjà en avant-propos le texte grec et une traduction parallèle en anglais. Après deux chapitres introductifs où sont exposés les objectifs et la méthodologie, ainsi que la description de l'Hymne, un troisième chapitre introductif, donne l'état de la question. On entre ensuite dans le vif du sujet, à savoir la détermination de la date de la composition et du compositeur de l'Hymne. Les conclusions concernant le compositeur n'ont rien de révolutionnaire : ce dernier reste toujours inconnu et anonyme. L'A. place la date de la composition dans le contexte du conflit doctrinal qui a conduit au IV^e^ concile oecuménique d'Ephèse en 431, considéré comme le *terminus ante quem* pour la composition de l'Hymne. A cette occasion l'A. propose de chercher le compositeur dans les milieux proches de Proclus et de Cyrille d'Alexandrie, défenseurs par excellence de la Vierge "théotocos". Or aucune réponse n'est donnée aux questions très évidentes soulevées par une telle hypothèse, comme par ex. comment expliquer la disparition d'un texte orthodoxe d'une telle beauté poétique pendant deux siècles de la vie liturgique, comment justifier l'absence de tout témoignage littéraire direct ou indirect de l'Hymne, comment concevoir l'absence de référence à ce texte durant le conflit monophysite du VI^e^ s. et comment surtout admettre son introduction dans la vie liturgique au début du VII^e^ s. à un moment où la théologie de la Vierge théotocos était officiellement mise en quarantaine ?

Les chapitres qui suivent sont beaucoup plus orientés vers les sources d'inspiration du poète et l'analyse sémantique et structurale du texte. Marie est présentée dans l'Hymne soit comme "La Vierge", soit comme la "Seconde Ève", soit encore comme la "Théotocos, la mère de Dieu". Une étude quantitative des qualificatifs utilisés ne donne toutefois aucun résultat interprétable dans un sens ou dans un autre. Certes, l'A. veut rapprocher ces statistiques avec la christologie de l'Église d'Alexandrie et pouvoir ainsi donner une vraisemblance à son hypothèse de l'origine alexandrine de l'Hymne Acathiste, mais cette manière de voir les choses ne paraît pas convaincante.

P. YANNOPOULOS

Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit (PMBZ). I. Abteilung *(641-867)*, 3. Band : *Leon (#4271) - Placentius (#6265)*, Berlin et N. York, Walter de Gruyter, 2000, 687 pages. ISBN 3-11-016673-9 ; 4. Band : *Platon (#6266) - Theophilaktos (#8345)*, Berlin et N. York, Walter de Gruyter, 2001, 687 pages. ISBN 3-11-016674-7 ; 5. Band : *Theophylaktos (#8346) - az Zubair (#8675), Anonymi (#10001-#12149)*, Berlin et N. York, Walter de Gruyter, 2001, 685 pages. ISBN 3-11-016675-5.

Par ces trois volumes prend fin la première partie de la monumentale entreprise qu'est le *PMBZ*, partie dont la réalisation est faite dans un temps record. Un nouvel instrument de travail est ainsi mis à la disposition des chercheurs. Espérons que la suite sera exécutée avec la même rapidité, la même précision et la même conviction. Le contenu de chacun de ces volumes est clairement indiqué dans son titre, et la manière d'organiser la matière a déjà fait l'objet de notices antérieures. Signalons toutefois la volumineuse partie du cinquième volume consacrée aux *anonyma, anonymi* et *anonymus*, qui couvre les pp. 131-685. Malgré la volonté des rédacteurs, il est quasiment impossible de s'y retrouver ; un index par source des anonymes pourrait rendre plus accessible cette partie. Quant aux qualités indiscutables et aux défauts éventuels de l'ouvrage, ce n'est pas dans une notice qu'il faut les signaler. Le temps et l'usage des chercheurs feront dans ce domaine les meilleurs juges. Toutefois, nous ne pouvons pas nous passer d'une petite note critique concernant les citations bibliographiques, qui ne sont pas toujours aussi complètes qu'on pourrait espérer et où la bibliographie francophone est habituellement la moins bien représentée.

P. YANNOPOULOS

G. SÉFÉRIS, *Τρεῖς μέρες στὰ μοναστήρια τῆς Καππαδοκίας / Trois Jours dans les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, Athènes, Centre d'études d'Asie Mineure, 2e éd., 2000, 118 pages + 50 illustrations. ISBN 960-85976-4-1.

En 1950, G. Séféris avait cinquante ans et une carrière diplomatique à son actif, quand il revint en touriste guidé par les explorations scientifiques du P. de Jerphanion, "à la recherche de son orthodoxie natale" sur la terre qu'il avait dû quitter en 1924. Ses notes de voyage furent publiées en 1953, avec une traduction française. La première édition méritait d'être prise en considération lorsqu'on lui décerna le Prix Nobel de littérature en 1963. Cette réédition confirme la permanence des séductions littéraires de qualité.

J. MOSSAY

S. TOUGHER, *The Reign of Leo VI (886-912). Politics and People (The Medieval Mediterranean Peoples, Economies and Cultures,400 - 1453*, XVI), Leyden, New York, Cologne, Brill, 1997, xiii + 262 pages. ISSN 0928-5520. ISBN 90-04-10811-4.

Malgré son sous-titre, ce volume est une histoire de l'empire byzantin de la fin de la dynastie amorienne à 912. Ses conclusions sont toutefois généralement novatrices et mettent souvent en cause l'image admise de Léon VI. D'abord, la question de l'appartenance de Léon à la maison des Amoriens ou à celle des Macédoniens doit être vue autrement. Basile Ier voulait se présenter comme le continuateur des Amoriens en gardant en place plusieurs membres de la Cour et en prenant comme épouse la veuve de Michel III. Léon constitue alors un trait d'union entre les deux maisons régnantes. Quant à la déposition de Photius, il

faut peut-être l'envisager autrement, étant donné l'âge avancé du patriarche et son état de santé, conclusion qui atténue la thèse de l'opposition entre le savant maître et son ancien élève. L'A. analyse ensuite les rapports très controversés entre Léon et Stylianos Zaoutzès, avant de faire le point sur les circonstances des mariages successifs de l'empereur. L'étude des opérations militaires contre les Arabes et les Bulgares, ainsi que l'analyse des traités militaires attribués à Léon, sont pour l'A. autant de preuves pour conclure en faveur de la thèse d'un empereur très énergique, image qui contraste avec celle adoptée jusqu'à présent par l'historiographie, qui brosse un tableau moins flatteur de Léon. La mort de Léon en 912 était prématurée, étant donné qu'il est né vers 866. Selon les conclusions de ce livre, le cours de l'histoire byzantine et de l'histoire mondiale en général aurait été différent si Léon n'était pas mort à un si jeune âge. La guerre avec les Bulgares aurai ainsi été évitée, ainsi que la détérioration des relations entre les Églises constantinopolitaine et romaine.

P. YANNOPOULOS

D. TSOUGARAKIS, *Εισαγωγή στη βυζαντινή σφραγιδογραφία*, Athènes, Κανάκης, 1999, 95 pages. ISBN 960-7420-55-1.

Ce petit volume est destiné aux étudiants qui s'initient à la sigillographie byzantine. Il s'agit d'un travail de méthodologie, qui, signalons-le, faisait cruellement défaut jusqu'à présent. Dans l'introduction, l'A. note que les sceaux sont connus depuis l'Antiquité, mais c'est au moyen âge ils sont devenus des objets courants. Les sceaux byzantins ont attiré l'attention des scientifiques dès le début du XIX[e] s. Suivent trois chapitres, dont le premier a pour objet le sceau en tant qu'objet métallique, destiné à seller ou à prouver l'inviolabilité d'un document ou d'un récipient. Le deuxième chapitre, intitulé "l'étude de l'objet" regroupe les observations de l'A. relatives à la description et la publication des sceaux et les éléments susceptibles de dater le matériel sigillographique ; ces éléments peuvent être : l'iconographie, les monogrammes et les légendes. Le troisième chapitre envisage les sceaux en tant que sources historiques, dont l'importance ne se limite pas à la seule prosopographie, mais aussi à l'administration civile et ecclésiastique, sans oublier qu'un sceau est en outre un objet artistique, produit d'un art mineur, mais non moins intéressant : de la gravure.

Parmi les qualités du livre, soulignons la clarté de son exposé systématique dans une langue néogrecque agréable à lire.

P. YANNOPOULOS

Fotini VLACHOPOULOU, *Λέων Σγουρός. Ο βίος και η πολιτεία του βυζαντινού άρχοντα της βορειοανατολικής Πελοποννήσου στις αρχές του 13ου αιώνα*, Thessalonique, Ηρόδοτος, 2000, 193 pages. ISBN 960-8256-01-1.

This study, based on the author's recent M. A. dissertation at rand Afrikaans University in Johannesburg (South Africa), presents in essence a biographical

portrait of a major historical figure at the turn of the 12th-13th c., the independent Greek "archon" Leo Sgouros. The A. has succeded in neatly codifying and bringing together the major contemporary and later Byzantine sources, along with the available secondary bibliography – thus producing a comprehensive and analytical study, which sheds light on various aspects of Sgouros' eventful career, and introduces a fresh perspective on his controversial personality and his much debated role and contribution to the Byzantine resistance after 1204.

The A. discusses the origins, rise and later prevalence of Sgouros in North Eastern Peloponnese within the wider context of the socio-political conditions of the time. She tackles topographical/geographical issues as well as historical problems concerning Sgouros' activities in central Greece and the various versions of his death. Additionally, this study provides prosopographical data on the family of the Sgouroi (11th-15th c.), with a detailed catalogue placed in an appendix, as well as sigillographic evidence based on Sgouros' surviving lead seal (*molybdoboulon*). Finally, the book is well documented throughout and provides a complete and wideranging bibliography, as well as relevant maps, sketches and photographs. In all, it is a much-needed biography of a major Byzantine historical figure ; the kind of study, which is still lacking for many, if not almost all, protagonists of Byzantine history.

Alicia J. Simpson

Zbornik radova Bizantoloskog Instituta, 36 (1997), 263 pages. ISSN 0584-9888.

Puisque cette revue, pour sa table des matières, utilise une traduction des titres en anglais ou en français, nous utilisons cette traduction pour les titres des articles. Parmi les articles, celui de M. Blagojević, *Shared Principalities in Serbia* (pp. 45-62), et de celui de J. Kalić, *Le joupan Belos* (pp. 63-81), concernent l'histoire serbe ; le premier analyse une institution serbe ; le second donne la biographie d'un notable serbe qui, après avoir passé un temps considérable à la Cour hongroise, fut nommé par Manuel Ier chef des Serbes soumis à l'autorité byzantine. M. Čanak-Medić, *La cathédrale Saint-Tryphon en tant que reflet de la situation artistique à Kotor vers le milieu du XIIe s.* (pp. 83-98), étudie une basilique du type byzantino-lombard à Kotor, qui fait penser aux églises siciliennes de la même époque. G. Subotić et I. Tot, *Inscriptions with Historical Content in 11th and 12th c. Frescoes in the Western Regions of the Empire* (pp. 99-118), traitent certaines inscriptions peintes autour d'Ochrid qui font état des fondateurs, des donateurs mais aussi des artistes qui ont travaillé dans la région. L'article de M. Popović, *Les fortifications en terre palissadée et en pierres sèches dans les conflits serbo-byzantins vers la fin du XIe s.* (pp.119-138), est intéressant car il traite un sujet moins courant : l'architecture militaire défensive de caractère provisoire. Il s'agit de fortifications de fortune qu'on trouve au sommet de collines ou d'autres endroits stratégiques, qui sont en accord avec les descriptions de Jean Cinamos et d'Anne Comnène. Leur construction peu soignée

indique que l'esthétique ne jouait aucun rôle dans ce cas. Marija BAJALOVIĆ-HADŽI-PEŠIĆ, *Finds of Byzantine Ceramics from 11th-13th c. on the Territory of Serbia* (pp. 139-154) s'occupe des amphores byzantines, connues sous le nom de *magarikai*, découvertes dans le bassin du Danube, qui ont servi de modèle pour la production locale. M. ŠUPUT, *The Continuity of the Cult Place in Architecture in Serbian Lands and the Byzantine World* (pp. 155-162), signale que les Serbes, comme jadis les Byzantins, récupéraient les lieux de culte païens et après une adaptation plutôt superficielle, les utilisaient pour le culte chrétien. V. KORAĆ, *Martinici, une transposition médiévale de la conception de la ville antique* (pp. 163-172), a étudié les vestiges d'une ville médiale au Monténégro, fondée à l'époque macédonienne et pour laquelle on ne dispose d'aucune source écrite. La reconstitution du plan de l'agglomération indique que la cité antique a connu des transformations importante pour aboutir à cette cité-château typique du X^e^ s. D. MRKOBRAD, *Ras-Postenje : Phases in the Development of the Fortress* (pp. 203-219), tenant compte des investigations archéologiques, suit l'évolution de Ras, capitale du premier royaume serbe, depuis le IX^e^ s. jusqu'à sa récupération par les Byzantins au XII^e^ s. Parmi les articles d'intérêt purement historique, celui de B. FERJANČIĆ, *Basile I^er^ et la restauration du pouvoir byzantin au IX^e^ s.* (pp. 9-30), exploite les écrits de Constantin VII pour dire qu'au IX^e^ s., l'autorité byzantine a été contestée dans les Balkans par de multiples ethnies slaves. Basile I^er^, après ses victoires contre les Arabes en mer Adriatique, a aussi rétabli son autorité dans cette région, ce qui lui a permis la création du thème de Dalmatie. Ce thème fait d'ailleurs l'objet de l'article de S. RAJKOVIĆ, *La Dalmatie byzantine dans l'écrit De administrando imperio ; nouveaux dilemmes* (pp. 221-232), qui exprime des doutes quant à la véracité historique des affirmations du Porphyrogénète au sujet de l'installation des Slaves dans la région et la tentative de rattacher la création du thème à la disparition de l'exarchat de Ravenne. Dans le même domaine, S. PIRIVATRIĆ, *Le thème byzantin de Morava et la "Moravie" de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète* (pp. 173-201), part d'un sceau récemment découvert, faisant état d'un stratège de Morava, qui selon l'A. doit être la ville de Margum dévastée par les Huns. La mention de l'archon de Moravie de Constantin VII ne semble pas toutefois concerner cette ville, mais la Grande Moravie. Lj. MAKSIMOVIĆ, *L'organisation du pouvoir byzantin après 1018 dans les contrées reconquises* (pp. 31-43), vise la situation politique dans les Balkans après la victoire finale de Basile II dans la guerre contre les Bulgares. Dans la périphérie des thèmes, les Byzantins ont installés des *katepano* ou des *duces*, fonctionnaires de collocation militaire. Parmi ceux-ci, le *katepano* de Rascie et le stratège de Morava couvraient les régions habitées par les Serbes. Pour B. KRSMANOVIĆ et A. LAMA, *Georges Maniakès, le nom Goudevlio" et "l'autonomie scythe" de Michel Psellos* (pp. 233-263), l'origine du général byzantin Georges Maniakès peut être slave, étant donné l'étymologie du nom de son père Goudevlio", d'autant plus que selon Psellos cette personne tirait son ori-

gine d'une région scythe, qui pour l'A. peut être une région slave, origine que le rédacteur de cet article essaye de prouver par une série d'hypothèses pas toujours très probantes.

P. YANNOPOULOS

OUVRAGES REÇUS PAR LA RÉDACTION DU 1 JUILLET AU 31 DÉCEMBRE 2001

Ces ouvrages font ou feront l'objet soit d'un compte rendu, soit d'une chronique, soit encore d'une notice.

Maria Luisa AGATI, *Giovanni Onorio da Maglie, copista greco (1535-1563)*, (*Bollettino dei Classici*, Suppl. 20), Roma, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2001, 349 pages. ISSN 0391-8270 ; ISBN 88-218-0840-8.

Ακαδημία Αθηνών. Λεξικογραφικόν Δελτίον, 22 (1999), 274 pages.

Ακαδημία Αθηνών. Επετηρίς του Κέντρου Ερεύνης της Ιστορίας του Ελληνικού Δικαίου, 35 (2001), 459 pages.

A Lost Art Rediscovered. The Architectural Ceramics of Byzantium, éd. par S. E. J. GERSTEL et Julie A. LAUFFENBURGER. University Park (Pennsylvania), The Pennsylvania State University, 2001, xvii + 318 pages. ISBN 0-271-02139-X.

Zoè ANTONOPOULOU-TRECHLI, *Αρχαία ελληνική πόλις και βυζαντινή οικουμένη*, extrait d'*Αθήνα και Εσπερία. Οι επιδράσεις της αρχαίας Αθήνας στη διαμόρφωση του σύγχρονου δυτικοευρωπαϊκού πολιτισμού*, Athènes, 2001, pp. 31- 41.

D. APOSTOLOPOULOS, *Γύρω από τη διαθήκη της Ρωξάνδρας Μαυροκορδάτου († 1684)*, extrait d'*Ο Έρανιστής*, 22 (1999), pp. 29-43.

Byzantine Law. Proceedings of the International Symposium of Jurist, Thessaloniki, 10-13 December 1998, éd. par Ch. PAPASTATHIS, Thessaloniki, Bar Association of Thessaloniki, 2001, 316 pages.

Byzantinische Malerei. Bildprogramme - Ikonographie - Stil. Symposion in Marburg vom 25. - 29.6.1997, éd. par G. KOCH (*Spätantike - Frühes Christentum - Byzanz. Kunst im ersten Jahrtausend*, Band 7), Wiesbaden, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2000, 456 pages + 43 planches en couleur hors texte. ISBN 3-89500-130-9.

S. CARUSO, *La Sicilia nelle fonti storiografiche bizantine (secc. XI ex. -XII)*, extrait de *Bizantinistica*, 2 (2000), pp. 281-335.

W. CERAN, *Historia i bibliografia rozumowana bizantynologii Polskiej (1800-1998)*, vol. I-II (= *Byzantina Lodziensia*, 6), Lódz, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Lódzkiego, 2001, 786 pages. ISBN 83-7171-474-2.

F. CURTA, *The Making of the Slavs. History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, c. 500-700*, Cambridge, University Press, 2001, XXV + 463 pages. ISBN 0-521-80202-4.

Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 54 (2000), 290 pages.

Florentia EVANGELATOU-NOTARA, *Χορηγοί - Κτήτορες - Δωρητές σε σημειώματα κωδίκων. Παλαιολόγειοι χρόνοι (Παρουσία, Παράρτημα 49)*, Athènes, 2000, 312 pages. ISBN 960-8424-14-3.

Maria GEORGOPOULOU, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies. Architecture and Urbanism*, Cambridge, University Press, 2001, XV + 383 pages. ISBN 0-521-78235-X.

M. GRÜNBART, *Epistularum Byzantinarum Initia (Alfa - Omega*, Reihe A : *Lexika-Indizes-Konkordanzen zur klassischen Philologie*, 224), Hildesheim, Zürich, New York, Olms-Weidmann, 2001, 43* + 372 pages. ISBN 3-487-11462-3.

Lydie HADERMANN-MISGUICH, cfr Jeaninne VEREECKEN.

R. H. HEWSEN, *Armenia : A Historical Atlas*, Chicago, London, The University of Chicago Press, XVIII + 341 pages, 232 cartes en couleur, 3 planches. ISBN 0-226-33228-4.

M. HINTERBERGER, cfr J. KODER.

Grammatiki A. KARLA, *Vita Aesopi. Überlieferung, Sprache und Edition einer frühbyzantinischen Fassung des Äsopromans (Serta Graeca*, Band 13), Wiesbaden, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2001, XIV + 269 pages + 6 planches hors texte. ISBN 3-89500-222-4.

Κληρονομία, 31,1-2 (1999, juin-décembre), 398 pages.

J. KODER, M. HINTERBERGER, O. KRESTEN et allii, *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, 3. Teil : *Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1350-1363 (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, 19/3), Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001, 609 pages + 8 planches hors texte. ISBN 3-7001-2884-3.

Foteini KOLOVOU, *Michaelis Choniatae, Epistulae (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, 41), Berlin, New York, Walter de Gruyter, 2001, 150* + 396 pages + 2 planches hors texte. ISBN 3-11-017166-X.

O. KRESTEN, cfr J. KODER.

Le sacré et son inscription dans l'espace à Byzance et en Occident. Études comparées (Byzantina Sorbonensia, 18), éd. par M. KAPLAN, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 2001, XI + 319 pages. ISBN 2-85944-421-1.

Les Mishellénismes. Actes du séminaire organisé à l'École française d'Athènes (16-18 mars 1998), éd. par G. GRIVAUD (*Champs Helléniques modernes et contemporains*, 3), Paris, École française d'Athènes, 2001, 155 pages + 4 planches hors texte.

Régine LEURQUIN, cfr Anne TIHON.

Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität. Verzeichnis der Abkürzungen (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften), Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001, 65 pages. ISBN 3-7001-2992-0.

Litterae Hagiologicae, 6 (2000), 24 pages.

Ch. LOHR, *Eustratius Nicaenus. Commentaria in II librum Posteriorum analyticorum Aristotelis. Innominati Auctoris. Expositiones in II librum Posteriorum resolutiovorum Aristotelis. Übersetzt von Andreas Gratiolus (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca. Versiones latinae temporis resuscitatarum litterarum*, Band 7), Stuttgart, Frommann-Holzboog, 2001, XIV + 195 pages. ISBN 3-7728-1227-9.

T. LOUNGHIS, *Sacrae largitiones και Res privatae στην πολιτική του Ιουστινιανού*, extrait de *Βυζαντινά*, 21 (2000), pp. 215-226.

IDEM, *Le poids spécifique du commandement suprême en Italie dans la formation de l'idéologie politique du x^e siècle*, extrait de *L'Ellenismo italiota dal VII al XII secolo. Alla memoria di Nikos Panagiotakis*, Athènes, 2001, pp. 153-164.

IDEM, *Some Gaps in a Social Evolution Theory as Research Direction*, extrait de *The Dark Centuries of Byzantium (7th-9th c.)*, Athènes, 2001, pp. 411-420.

E. MCGEER, J. NESBITT, N. OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, vol. IV : *The East*, Washington, D. C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001, XIII + 236 pages. ISBN 0-88402-282-X.

G. C. MANIATIS, *Organization, Market Structure, and Modus Operandi of the Private Silk Industry in Tenth-Century Byzantium*, extrait de *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 53 (1999), pp. 263-332.

IDEM, *The Organizational Setup and Functioning of the Fish Market in Tenth-Century Constantinople*, extrait de *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 54 (2000), pp. 13-42.

Anne MICHEL, *Les églises d'époque byzantine et umayyade de la Jordanie. v^e-VIII^e siècle. Typologie architecturale et aménagements liturgiques* (*Bibliothèque de l'Antiquité tardive*, 2), Turnhout, Brepols Publishers, 2001, XXI + 471 pages.

MOCXOBIA. Проьлемы ьизантийской і Новогреческой филологии, 1 (1998, paru en 2001), 566 pages + 62 planches hors texte. ISBN 5-85759-149-X.

Modern Greek Studies Yearbook. A Publication of Mediterranean, Slavic, and Eastern Orthodox Studies, 14-15 (1998-1999), 550 pages. ISSN 0884-8432.

J. NESBITT, cfr E. MCGEER.

N. OIKONOMIDES, cfr E. MCGEER.

Arietta PAPACONSTANTINOU, *Le culte des saints en Égypte. Des Byzantins aux Abbassides. L'apport des inscriptions et des papyrus grecs et coptes*, Paris, CNRS Éditions, 2001, XXIV + 474 pages. ISSN 0544-7704 ; ISBN 2-271-05849-X.

Leena Mari PELTOMAA, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn* (*The Medieval Mediterranean Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1453*, 35), Leiden, Boston et Köln, Brill, 2001, XIII + 242 pages. ISSN 0928-5520 ; ISBN 90-04-12088-2.

Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. I. Abteilung *(641-867)*, 5. Band : *Theophylaktos (#8346) - az Zubair (#8675), Anonymi (#10001-#12149)*, Berlin et New York, Walter de Gruyter, 2001, 685 pages. ISBN 3-11-016675-5.

D. R. Reinsch, *Anna Komnene, Alexias*, 2. Auflage, Berlin et New York, Walter de Gruyter, 2001, 607 pages. ISBN 3-11-017195-3.

A. Savvides, *Ιστορία του Βυζαντίου με αποσπάσματα από τις πηγές.* I : *284-717 μ. Χ.*, 3ème éd. complétée et enrichie, Athènes, Πατάκης, 2001, 545 pages. ISBN 960-16-0124-4.

Idem, *Notes on Zaghanos Pasha's Career*, extrait de *Journal of Oriental and African Studies*, 10 (1999), pp. 144-147.

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